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Hendrick, Burton Jesse

Pork-barrel pensions

[Garden City, N.Y.]

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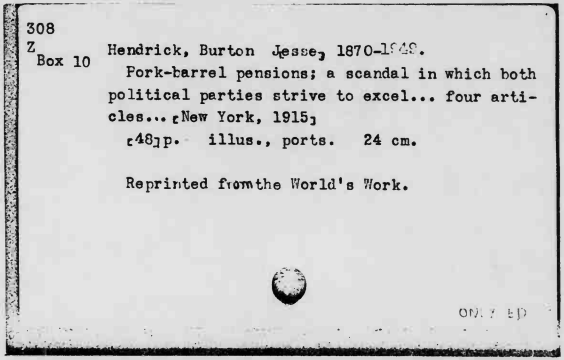
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PORK-BARREL PENSIONS

A Scandal in Which Both Political Parties Strive to Excel

FACTS

THERE has been much talk about Prussian militarism: let us look at a few facts in this field drawn from the report of the Commission of Pensions, U. S. A., for the year ending June 30, 1914.

There was paid out during this time for pensions alone $172,417,546.26. This item, combined with our expenditure for the army and navy, gives the American Republic a military budget of $466,380,266. The German Empire, the greatest military power, spent in 1913 $491,775,800 for similar purposes. In other words, the United States spends nearly as much as Germany. Our federal budget, exclusive of the postal service — which need not be counted, since these expenditures are reimbursed by postal revenues — amounted in 1913 to $748,703,574. That is, the United States spends half its income on its army and navy, past and present.

$27,532 of our pension disbursements, for year ending June 30, 1914, was paid for services rendered in the War of 1812, *fought and ended 102 years ago*.

$1,060,530 was paid for services rendered in the war with Mexico *which ended in 1847, or 67 years ago*, and during the last year 85 *new* pensions were allowed for services in this old war.

$163,377,542 was paid for services rendered in the Civil War, *which ended 50 years ago*, and 17,857 ***new*** pensions were granted for services in that war.

And most serious of all, the system by which the old soldier vote forces money from Congress is being extended to the veterans of the Spanish-American War.

We can not, perhaps, at this late date end the pension abuses of the Civil War. We can, however, forstall this new pension roll with all its corrupting influences.

Four Articles by
BURTON J. HENDRICK
Reprinted from the World's Work

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PORK-BARREL PENSIONS

WHY THE UNITED STATES IS SPENDING 163 MILLION DOLLARS A YEAR TO PAY FOR A WAR THAT ENDED FIFTY YEARS AGO

FIRST ARTICLE

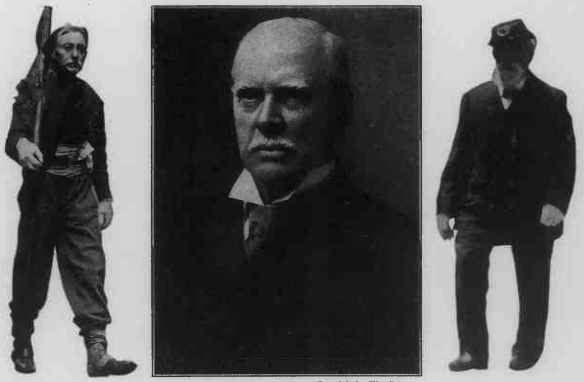
THE UNITED STATES THE MOST MILITARISTIC NATION

A COUNTRY THAT SPENDS HALF ITS REVENUE FOR MILITARY PURPOSES — OUR ARMY, WITH PENSIONS, MORE COSTLY BY $100,000,000 THAN THAT OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE — WHAT EUROPE'S EXPENDITURES WOULD BE IF IT ADOPTED AMERICA'S PENSION IDEAS

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

IN publishing these articles, the WORLD'S WORK *has no hostility to the veterans of our wars who fought and suffered in the Nation's service. Pensions granted to such men honor the government that grants them. Unfortunately, as these articles will show, our pension system includes many besides the members of this honor roll. Its latest manifestation is that of pensioning thousands of men who never saw war service, who never smelled powder, who never, as one Grand Army witness recently said before the Senate Committee, "got their collars dirty or their shoes soiled." It embraces "bounty*



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"DOLLAR-A-DAY SHERWOOD"

CONGRESSMAN ISAAC R. SHERWOOD, OF OHIO, WHO ADVOCATES THE WIDEST POSSIBLE EXTENSION OF PENSIONS, EVEN AT THE COST OF STOPPING WORK ON THE PANAMA CANAL, DECREASING THE SIZE OF THE ARMY AND STOPPING THE BUILDING OF BATTLESHIPS

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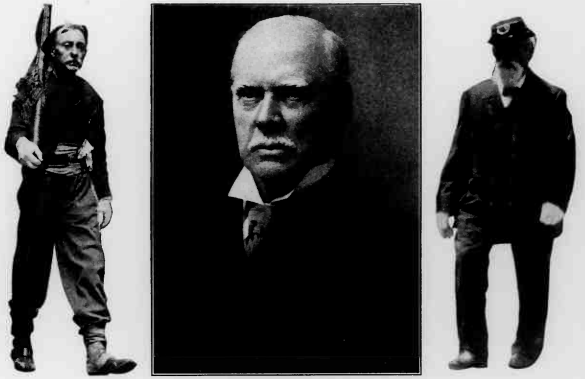

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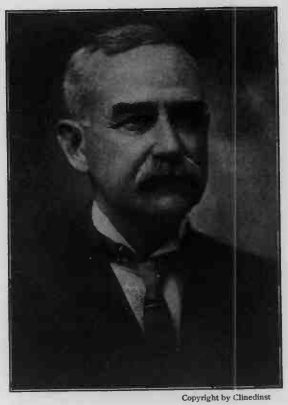
jumpers," deserters, "home guards," "spring pullet widows," and men dishonorably discharged. These articles are directed against a pension propaganda that includes "veterans" of this type. They do not assail the rapidly diminishing band who rescued the Nation from its perils and whose services their grateful descendants can never repay.

Four years ago the WORLD'S WORK *published a series of articles on the abuses of our pension system. Since that time, much pension history has been made. Three years ago a Democratic House of Representatives passed a bill that added $75,000,000 a year to our pension payments: an economical Republican Senate cut this down to about $22,000,000 a year. In 1911, Congress spent $157,000,000 in pensions· last year it spent $172,000,000. The time is coming when the American people will have to reform their pension system or face national bankruptcy. The issue that these articles bring forward is, therefore, a very present abuse, which is growing every day, and which is destined, unless reformed, to have consequences most seriously affecting not only the national treasury but the national character.* —THE EDITORS.

DREADFUL as are likely to be the consequences of the present European war, there is one calamity that the embattled nations will probably escape. This is a pension list on the American plan. Backward as our citizen soldiery may be in practice of warfare, there is one branch of the science that they can teach even so militaristic a nation as Germany; and that is the art of collecting pensions. Only in the United States has patriotism been transmuted into a huge money interest.

In order to understand precisely what the ten or a dozen nations now engaged will escape, let us imagine what the results would be if the pension system of the great Western democracy followed the present war. According to trustworthy estimates, about 18,000,000 men, representing both the armies and navies, will engage in this struggle. The American Civil War enlisted something more than 2,000,000 on the Northern and pensionable side.



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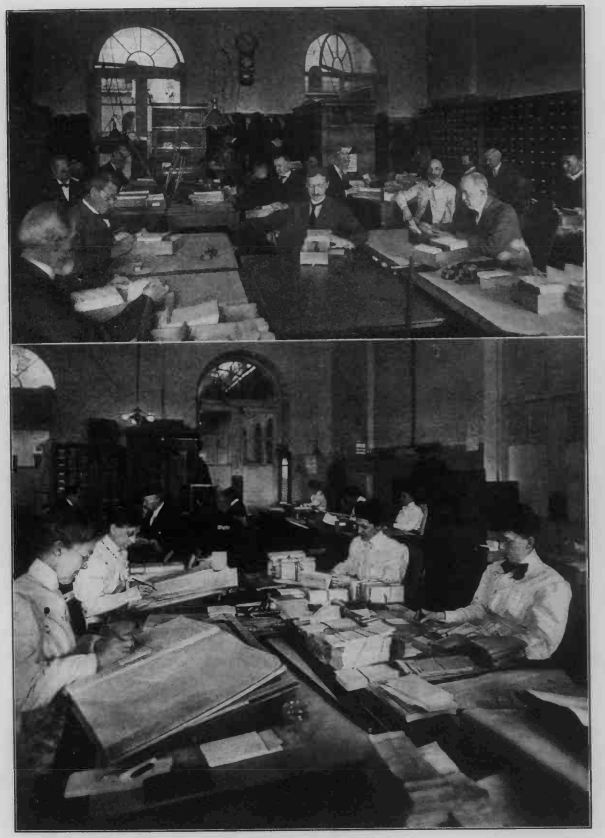
MR. GAYLORD M. SALTZGABER

THE NEW COMMISSIONER OF PENSIONS, UNLIKE MANY OF HIS PREDECESSORS, RECOMMENDS COMPLETE PUBLICITY IN PENSION EXPENDITURES. HE ADVOCATES PUBLISHING THE NAMES OF ALL PENSIONERS

If we are to apply the American pension system to the European armies, therefore, we must multiply our pension expenditures by nine. Take one especially impressive fact. In the fifty years since the Civil War ended, the American people have paid to its survivors or their dependents more than $4,500,000,000. On the same basis the European governments, should they adopt American pension plans, will have paid by 1966 (assuming that the war ends next year) about $40,500,000,000.

Before they reach this point, however, Europe will have traveled much pension history and introduced many new pension ideas. The first few years her conception of pensions will undoubtedly represent about the same principles as those that prevailed here in the two decades immediately following the Civil War. From 1865 to 1890 a military or naval pension in the United States signified one thing, and one thing only. It was a payment made as part compensation for wounds



THE HOME OF THE PENSION ROLL

IN THE CARD INDEX FILES OF THE PENSION OFFICE THE NAMES OF 785,000 PENSIONERS ARE LISTED. THIS MEANS THAT, ON AN AVERAGE, ABOUT ONE PERSON IN EVERY HUNDRED IN THE UNITED STATES IS DRAWING A PENSION

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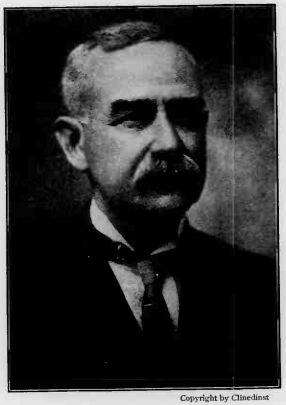

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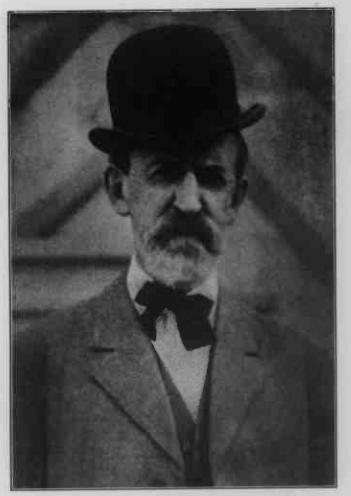
AN OPPONENT OF "PORK BARREL" PENSIONS

REPRESENTATIVE JOHN J. FITZGERALD, OF NEW YORK, WHO, AS CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS OF THE HOUSE, HAS STEADILY TRIED TO PREVENT THE RAIDS ON THE FEDERAL TREASURY MADE UNDER THE GUISE OF PENSIONS. HE VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED THE SHERWOOD PENSION BILL

received or disease contracted in the service of one's country. It was not a reward for patriotic deeds—such service naturally has no financial equivalent—or national charity doled out to a soldier in his old age. For those wounded in battle, however, or disabled by disease or physical infirmities, the Nation has always acknowledged a certain financial responsibility. Such men had lost, to a greater or a less extent, the ability to support themselves; it was the Nation's duty to assist in such support; it was no humiliation for the soldier to accept it—he had certainly given a real consideration for value received. Until June 27, 1890, that was the fundamental idea underlying the American pension system. That is the idea which has governed all systems of military pensions. It is the principle regulating the present-day pension schemes of most European countries and of the South American republics.

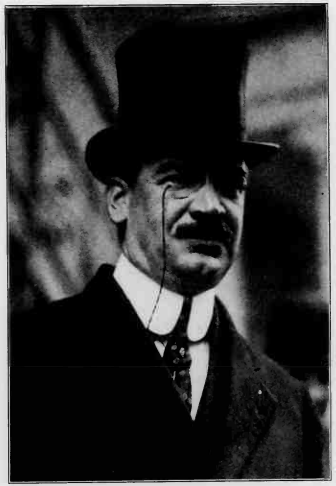
Even on this basis, however, our pension list gave occasion for enormous abuses. These abuses did not arise from the fundamental nature of the pension system, which was not necessarily evil, but from the liberality, carelessness, and criminality with which it was applied. In 1866, one year after the Civil War, we were paying something more than $15,000,000 to its survivors. In fifteen years this had grown to $56,000,000. In nine years more—in 1889—it had jumped to $86,000,000. In 1872, Pension Commissioner Baker, appointed by President Grant, said, referring to the large expenditure for that year —$30,000,000: "We have reached the apex of the mountain." This statement clearly reflected the opinion of his day. In the minds of most people there was no reason why the pension list, after the first period of five or six years succeeding the Civil War, should increase, the pension system remaining as it was. That system, as already explained, pensioned only invalids: men wounded or otherwise physically disabled in service from the years 1861 to 1865. At the close of the war, most soldiers actually wounded clearly understood that fact; a missing arm or leg is a palpable misfortune. Most soldiers injured by disease seriously enough to incapacitate them from manual labor also clearly realized their condition. Men of this type, and their dependents—widows, minors, mothers, fathers, orphan brothers, and orphan sisters—were then our only legal pensioners. Nearly all, therefore, in the natural order of things, should have gone upon the pension rolls in the few years immediately succeeding the war. A certain proportion, in comfortable circumstances, or having conscientious scruples against pensions, would not apply, or delayed their applications until want forced them to take this naturally repugnant step; but the great mass of honest pensioners ought to have gone upon the rolls fairly quickly. That is what Commissioner Baker meant, in 1872, when he said that we "had reached the apex of the mountain." The fact that the pension list, in the next eighteen years, increased threefold, with no fundamental change in our pension system, shows that there was something wrong somewhere.

The explanation involves one of the most humiliating chapters in American history. The English historian Lecky, in his "Democracy and Liberty," criticises the democratic idea mainly because, under this system of government, the tendency is always for one section of Society to rob the others. He instances the American system of military pensions as a case in point. Whatever one may think of Lecky's general criticism, this particular illustration is an apt one. The history of Civil War pensions is simply a story of a small minority laying violent hands upon the Federal Treasury. For forty years Congress has practically abdicated its control over pension legislation. When it comes to passing pension laws, a third legislative house, not recognized by the Constitution, has controlled the situation. The Grand Army of the Republic, in its national organization, has a pension committee of seven members. That pension committee is the House of Representatives, the Senate, and the President combined, so far as pension legislation is concerned. It publicly boasts that it has written all the pension laws of the last forty years. It takes counsel with itself, formulates its programme, and presents its "demands" to Congress. "Go to Congress and present your demands: and not with bowed heads," said Commander Russell A. Alger, many years ago. Congress almost invariably obeys its orders. A single circumstance shows the extent of its power. A bill in its passage through House and Senate is usually amended in both places; in order to reach a final basis of agreement, each house appoints a "conference committee," the "conferees" getting together and framing the measure in its final form. The pension committee of the Grand Army of the Republic practically has a representative on this conference committee. That is, Congress has always recognized this body as the real legislative power in pension matters. "Does the bill in this form satisfy you?" Speaker Cannon asked the G. A. R. pension committee in 1907, when the age bill came up for passage. "Yes." Bang! went the gavel and the thing was a law. So it has always been; so, it is to be feared, it will always be. The supreme test of a pension bill is whether it "satisfies" the "old fellows."



A DEMOCRATIC "PENSION STATESMAN"

SENATOR JOHN W. KERN, OF INDIANA, WHO COMES FROM THE "PENSION BELT" OF OHIO, INDIANA AND ILLINOIS (IN WHICH 22 PER CENT. OF ALL THE PENSIONERS LIVE.) ALTHOUGH THE UNITED STATES HAS PAID $4,500,000,000 TO CIVIL WAR VETERANS, SENATOR KERN DENOUNCES THE GOVERNMENT FOR ITS "INEXCUSABLE INGRATITUDE TO THE MEN WHO SAVED ITS LIFE"



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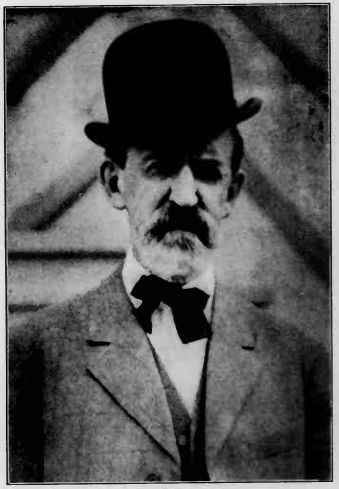

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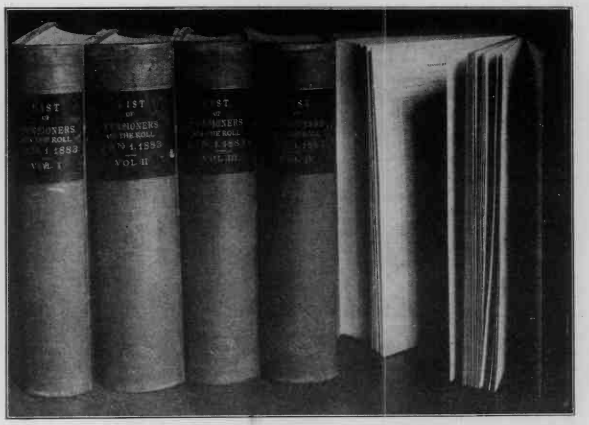

WHEN THE PENSION ROLL WAS PUBLISHED

IN 1883, THE LIST OF PENSIONERS WAS ISSUED IN FIVE VOLUMES OF 3,926 PAGES AVERAGING MORE THAN SEVENTY NAMES TO THE PAGE, OR A TOTAL OF ABOUT 280,000 NAMES. FOR THIRTY YEARS AFTERWARD THE ROLL WAS INACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC, AND THE LIST ROSE TO MORE THAN A MILLION NAMES. A SIMILAR PUBLICATION OF THE NAMES OF PRESENT DAY PENSIONERS WOULD REQUIRE FIFTEEN VOLUMES OF THIS SIZE

But what is the power back of the Grand Army pension committee? First, of course, are the old soldiers; their votes on election day, and the votes of their sympathizers, represent the considerations which political Congressmen have received in exchange for this franking privilege on the Federal Treasury. But, even back of this, there developed in this country, in the years succeeding the Civil War, certain professional classes which made a living out of the pension roll. Practitioners of the two great learned professions—law and medicine—found in our patriotic expenditures the staff of life. In the hard times following the war, both doctors and lawyers had hard pickings. The pension system proved a veritable manna. New professional characters appeared in every town and village: the pension attorney and the pension doctor. The business of the first was to scour the country for pension candidates and to discover some niche in the pension laws that would admit the most undeserving; that of the second, to find some physical disability that could be traced back to field service. Both advertised far and wide, in the daily press, in circulars and pamphlets, in old soldiers' magazines; medical etiquette, which prohibits physicians from announcing their wares in public, did not restrain the professional pension surgeon. Both lawyers and doctors had their drummers and runners constantly looking for "heroes" sufficiently "battle scarred" to qualify for the pension roll. Thousands of soldiers who had been no nearer a battlefield than a "home camp," and who had hardly even smelled gunpowder, easily magnified a reminiscent twinge of rheumatism or a slight palpitation of the heart into disabilities received in the service of their country. The pension doctor laid all science under tribute to prove the fact. These "veterans" ran no financial risk; they had only to sign a paper; if they won,

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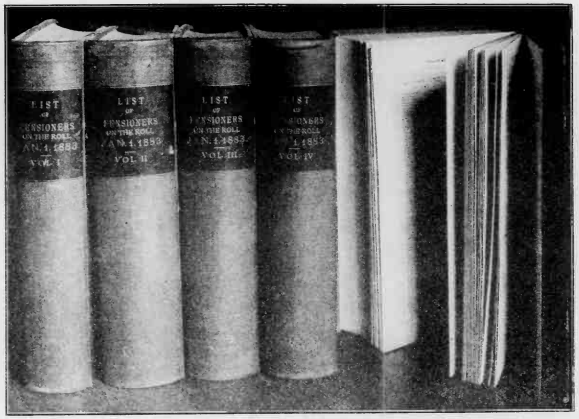
WHERE OLD SOLDIERS ARE CARED FOR

IN TEN SUCH NATIONAL HOMES ABOUT 35,000 VETERANS ARE LODGED AND FED. IN ADDITION TO THESE, HOMES ARE MAINTAINED BY 27 STATES. BESIDES PROVIDING FOR THE SUPPORT OF THESE VETERANS THE GOVERNMENT PAYS THEM LIBERAL PENSIONS

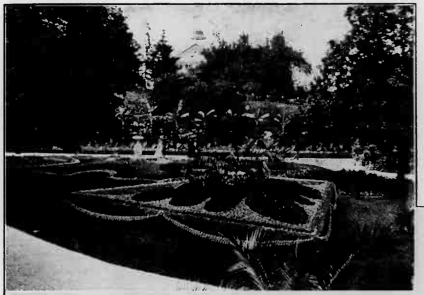
they had a steady income for life; if they lost, they had no fees to pay; the Government paid for the physical examination and the attorneys got nothing unless the claims were allowed. It is hardly necessary to ask if fraud prevailed. The whole system was an invitation to fraud. With all possible precautions, the taxpayers would have been swindled out of millions every year; but Uncle Sam made no attempt to safeguard himself. The proceedings on the basis of which pensions were granted were all *ex parte*. The claim agent drew up all the papers, including all the affidavits; the examining surgeon, when he was not a professional claim chaser, was the family physician, whose business it was to advance the interests of his patient. All these documents, fixed up in a remote town,

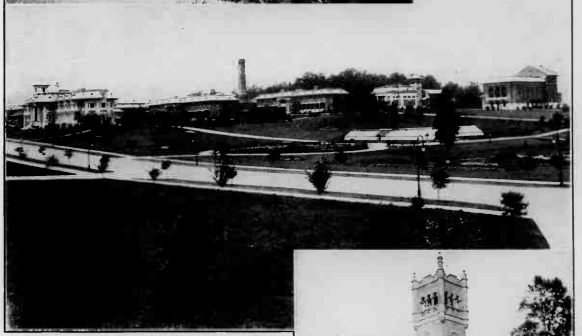


WHEN THE PENSION ROLL WAS PUBLISHED

IN 1883, THE LIST OF PENSIONERS WAS ISSUED IN FIVE VOLUMES OF 1,020 PAGES AVERAGING MORE THAN SEVENTY NAMES TO THE PAGE, OR A TOTAL OF ABOUT 280,000 NAMES. FOR THIRTY YEARS AFTERWARD THE ROLL WAS INACCESSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC, AND THE LIST ROSE TO MORE THAN A MILLION NAMES. A SIMILAR PUBLICATION OF THE NAMES OF PRESENT DAY PENSIONERS WOULD REQUIRE FIFTEEN VOLUMES OF THIS SIZE

But what is the power back of the Grand Army pension committee? First, of course, are the old soldiers; their votes on election day, and the votes of their sympathizers, represent the considerations which political Congressmen have received in exchange for this franking privilege on the Federal Treasury. But, even back of this, there developed in this country, in the years succeeding the Civil War, certain professional classes which made a living out of the pension roll. Practitioners of the two great learned professions—law and medicine—found in our patriotic expenditures the staff of life. In the hard times following the war, both doctors and lawyers had hard pickings. The pension system proved a veritable manna. New professional characters appeared in every town and village: the pension attorney and the pension doctor. The business of the first was to scour the country for pension candidates and to discover some niche in the pension laws that would admit the most undeserving; that of the second, to find some physical disability that could be traced back to field service. Both advertised far and wide, in the daily press, in circulars and pamphlets, in old soldiers' magazines; medical etiquette, which prohibits physicians from announcing their wares in public, did not restrain the professional pension surgeon. Both lawyers and doctors had their drummers and runners constantly looking for "heroes" sufficiently "battle scarred" to qualify for the pension roll. Thousands of soldiers who had been no nearer a battlefield than a "home camp," and who had hardly even smelled gunpowder, easily magnified a reminiscent twinge of rheumatism or a slight palpitation of the heart into disabilities received in the service of their country. The pension doctor laid all science under tribute to prove the fact. These "veterans" ran no financial risk; they had only to sign a paper; if they won, they had a steady income for life; if they lost, they had no fees to pay; the Government paid for the physical examination and the attorneys got nothing unless the claims were allowed. It is hardly necessary to ask if fraud prevailed. The whole system was an invitation to fraud. With all possible precautions, the taxpayers would have been swindled out of millions every year; but Uncle Sam made no attempt to safeguard himself. The proceedings on the basis of which pensions were granted were all *ex parte*. The claim agent drew up all the papers, including all the affidavits; the examining surgeon, when he was not a professional claim chaser, was the family physician, whose business it was to advance the interests of his patient. All these documents, fixed up in a remote town,





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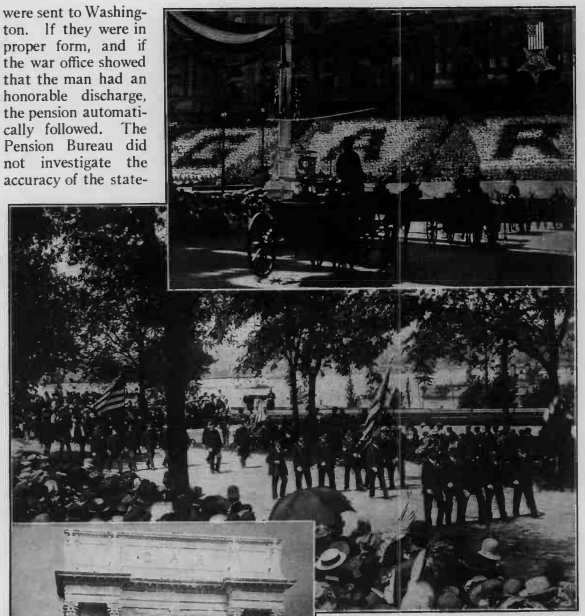

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WHOM THE NATION DELIGHTS TO HONOR

THE G. A. R., HOWEVER, THOUGH IT INCLUDES MANY OF THE BRAVEST FIGHTERS OF THE CIVIL WAR, HAS BECOME, AS AN ORGANIZATION, A PROPAGANDIST OF WHOLESALE PENSIONS. IT BOASTS THAT ITS PENSION COMMITTEE HAS WRITTEN ALL THE PENSION LAWS OF THE LAST THIRTY YEARS

We shall never know the extent to which these professional pension solicitors robbed the Government. One has only to read the reports of certain high-minded Pension Commissioners—such as Bentley, 1876-1881, Lochren, 1893-96, and Henry Clay Evans, 1897-1902, all ex-Union soldiers whose feelings as *bona fide* veterans were outraged by the infamous crimes constantly perpetrated in the name of patriotism—to understand that these frauds existed on a gigantic scale. Occasionally they became so notorious that they got into the criminal courts. These records give one a glimpse into the practices of pension attorneys. With many, affidavit-making and forgery was an every-day industry. They frequently made the claimant swear to blank affidavits—the lawyers afterward filling in the details themselves. Personation of old soldiers was a common practice; thousands of veterans went peacefully to their graves not knowing that their names were on the pension rolls—other men, in some cases pension attorneys, drawing and pocketing the quarterly checks. Cemetery records were ransacked, so that women to whom dead soldiers had never been married and whom they had never seen might draw pensions, as their widows. Widows concealed the fact of re-marriage in order to continue drawing pensions; in numerous other cases, rather than lose the monthly stipends by taking new husbands, they would maintain illicit relations. Claim agents and other persons continued to draw pensions long after the pensioned soldier had died. The reports of examining surgeons contained similar fabrications. The records of the pension office comprise many curiosities of medical literature. Our Civil War apparently gave rise to many new and amazing disabilities. Many of these reports were illiterate, the physicians not being able to spell the names of many of our commonest complaints. Soldiers were pensioned for "protuberant abdomens," "tenderness over the spleen," "crepitation of shoulders and elbows," "normal heart," "two piles," "lumbago," "alleged periodical vertigo," "sallow skin," "distended stomach," "thin, flabby muscles," "tremulous tongue," "slight numbness of right leg"—all acquired in the service of their country. It was a pretty vigorous veteran who, under the scrutinizing and far-seeing eye of an examining surgeon, did not disclose some pensionable complaint.

Far from discouraging these deceptions, Congress, under the promptings of the pension committee of the G. A. R., adopted legislation that encouraged them. From 1862 to 1890, it passed a mass of laws, most of them increasing the monthly allowances for particular ills. It adopted other regulations more indefensible. One of the most curious was a law legitimatizing "broomstick" marriages and their issue. This provided that any Negro or Indian woman who had lived with a man as his wife, under the sanction of some ceremonial which she had regarded as binding, could claim a pension as his widow. As a method of legalizing an occasional slave marriage, this law may have had some justification; in practice, however, it established a Federal reward for immorality and opened the way to endless frauds. In 1888, Congress passed a companion measure providing that all widows' pensions, whenever granted, should date from the date of the husband's death. That is, if the husband was killed in 1861, and the widow is awarded a pension in 1915, the Government pays all "arrearages," at full rates, for the preceding fifty-four years. These two laws enormously stimulated the business of the fraudulent claim agent. The industry of collecting Dinahs and Chloes and Elizas and fitting them to Negro husbands who had died twenty or thirty years before started into full bloom. The affidavits of two or three ante bellum friends, recalling that something faintly resembling a marriage had once taken place, immediately placed the names of these belated widows on the pension roll. The agent commonly pocketed the first payment, including the arrearages—usually amounting to several thousand dollars—and the newly made—and newly married—widows were consoled with their quarterly stipends for the rest of their lives.

The other law that added enormously to pension expenditures and placed a premium on fraud was that of 1879, granting "arrearages" to all original invalid pensioners. This was a broad invitation to all laggards who had not applied to make their disabilities known. In order that it might encourage them, Congress agreed to pay all soldiers who filed their applications by January 1, 1881, full pensions to date from the time of their injuries. Under this law a veteran, wounded in 1865 and placed on the pension roll in 1880, received, as a first payment, back pension for the preceding fifteen years. This law lifted pension expenditures from $33,000,000 in

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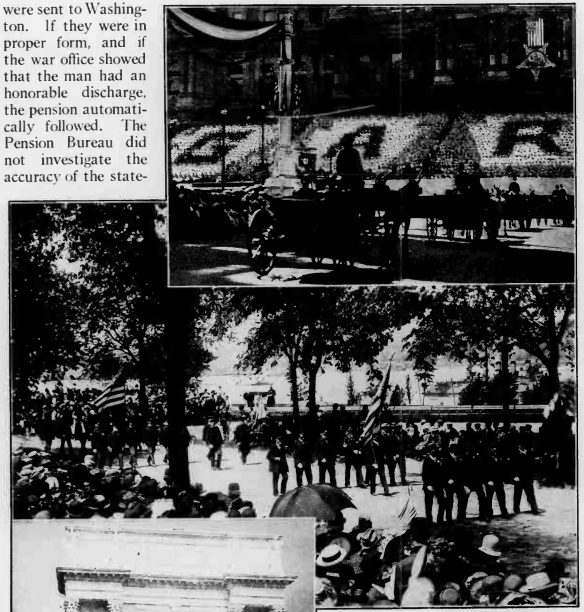

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1879 to $55,000,000 in 1880. Its ultimate cost is usually placed at $200,000,000.

This period, up to 1890, closes the first era in pension legislation. Imagine what similar legislation and similar administration would do for the veterans of the present European wars. On this basis the expenditures, the year after the war ends, would be $135,000,000. Fifteen years after, under the stimulus of arrearage laws and other legislative monstrosities, they would jump to $495,000,000. Twenty-five years later, as a result of further governmental encouragement, they would amount to nearly a billion dollars annually. And then the game would only have fairly started.

PENSIONS FOR SENILE DECAY

For, in 1890, the United States Government introduced a new principle into its pension legislation. Until then all pensions had been for invalids, real or imaginary; Congress had insisted that only men injured or disabled in war service should go upon the rolls. Ingenious as the medical or legal mind proved in discovering disabilities and immediately connecting them with the field of battle, there were still many thousands of cases that baffled their most skilful efforts. The veterans were getting old; traces of age were becoming manifest; all kinds of complaints were enfeebling them. These men were invalids in varying degrees, but they were not war invalids; their troubles were merely ordinary physical decay. They could not qualify for military pensions under the laws of any country. They were constantly attempting to get upon the rolls, but, liberal as our system was, it did not include them. The pension committee of the G. A. R., however, had no difficulty in solving this problem. It proposed a new pension system under which every disabled soldier could qualify, irrespective of whether he had acquired his disabilities in the service or not. The law of June 27, 1890, therefore, provided pensions, ranging from $6 to $12 a month, to all soldiers incapacitated for manual labor, from causes not due to their own vicious habits. In three years this ran the pension expenditures from $86,000,000 up to $157,000,000, and increased the pension roll from 489,000 to 966,000. Naturally it gave renewed vitality to the claim agent and his accomplices; the industry of affidavit-making sprang again into feverish activity.

DESERTERS MADE HEROES BY STATUTE

These general laws, however, tell only part of the pension story. The United States Government is the only one that has pensioned not only its faithful citizen soldiery, but its deserters and its dishonorably discharged. Like the sun, the American pension laws shine upon the good and the wicked alike. This whole question of desertion in the Civil War somewhat shocks American complacency; the facts would not look well in our school histories. In the Franco-Prussian war, there were not half a dozen desertions from the German army; the authorities usually place desertions from the Union side in our Civil War at about 125,000. These men were, for the larger part, "bounty jumpers": men, that is, who enlisted for the purpose of obtaining the liberal cash payments offered by state governments, and who left unceremoniously when such payments were made, usually to repeat the operation elsewhere. About twenty-five years ago Congress began passing laws which, in particular instances, gave deserters an honorable discharge, and in this way promoted them to the pension rolls. Congress, that is, transformed these men into "heroes" and "saviors of the Republic" by legislative enactment. Liberal as these laws are, however, there are certain especially atrocious cases that they do not cover. For these, certain agile Congressmen introduce private bills "correcting" their records.

THE PERNICIOUS PRIVATE PENSION BILLS

At the last session a bill was introduced granting a pension to a Federal soldier who had deserted to the Confederate army and afterward fought against the Union forces. That proposition was a little too brazen even for the Committee on Military Affairs; the fact that a Congressman could be found willing to introduce such a measure, however, shows the spirit in which our legislators have approached the whole pension problem. I shall show, in the course of these articles, that thousands of men have gone upon our pension rolls with hardly a greater claim to national gratitude.

Congressmen early resorted to this pernicious habit of special bills. One of the first things a new legislator learns in Washington is how to get through a private pension bill. Despite the wide open door our pension laws provide, there are thousands who cannot pass through. The pension bureau is constantly rejecting claims for technical disqualifications. Here, for example, is a widow who asks a pension under the Act of June 27, 1890. In order to qualify, according to that law, she must have married her soldier husband before the passage of the act—that is, before June 27, 1890. As a matter of history, she married him in 1891. Clearly, one would conclude, she cannot claim a pension. But she gets one all the same. The whole machinery of the Federal Government is called into action in her behalf. Her Congressman introduces a special act, which mentions her by name and appropriates a specific sum to pay her pension. Thousands of other cases are "taken care of" in the same way every session. Any one opening the *Congressional Record*, with its pages of private pension bills, would conclude that our law makers spent most of their time on this sort of business. In passing these bills Congress simply nullifies its own acts; it admits to the pension rolls individuals who, it has already decreed, have no right to be there. The money abstracted in this way, like certain public buildings, river and harbor appropriations, and postmasterships, is simply political patronage, and is always placed where it will do the most good.

Here, for the present, I close the narrative of our pension legislation. Up to 1907, it may be repeated, we had two systems—one granting pensions for disabilities received in service; the other granting pensions for disabilities received in any way and at any time, so long as such disabilities were not the results of vicious habits. The outstanding fact in our pension history is the steadily decreasing number of Civil War veterans and the steadily increasing pension expenditures. Commissioner Baker believed, in 1872, with a pension roll of $30,000,000, that we had reached the "apex of the mountain"; in reality we reached it in 1913 with expenditures of $176,714,907. There is something of a decrease for 1914, the pension roll amounting to only $174,484,051; however, with a flood of new bills receiving favorable consideration by Congress, there is no reason to believe that this drop will be permanent. Pension payments have fallen many times before; but the ingenious friends of the old soldier always find some way to put them up again.

A HIGHROAD TO NATIONAL BANKRUPTCY

If we apply these figures once more to the present European armies, we shall have the following interesting result: some time in the nineteen sixties, fifty years after the close of the war, the European nations will be paying in pensions $1,584,000,000 a year. If they do this, they will simply follow the example of the United States. Of course, they will do nothing of the kind, national bankruptcy not being their national ambition. What the policy will be can be fairly definitely learned from the pension systems that have prevailed for a generation. A comparison of the American and the European systems shows that, at least in this regard, there is no reason for the impression that republics are ungrateful to those who serve them.

For the United States, with its notoriously small and inadequate army, spends more on pensions than all the great military establishments of Europe put together. Taking our annual budget for military purposes, it appears that we are the most militaristic nation in the world. We spend on the Army and Navy, including pensions, more than half of our national revenue. Our expenditures, exclusive of the post office—which need not be considered, since this appropriation is reimbursed by postal receipts—amount to about $750,000,000 a year. Of this the items for army, navy, and military pensions amount to about $450,000,000—much more than half. Prussian militarism shows nothing comparable to that: on the other hand, Germany gets something for her expenditures, while a considerable part of ours goes to the account of a war that ended fifty years ago. Up to 1912, when the new army law went into effect, Germany was spending about

$200,000,000 a year on her military establishment. American expenditures for the army, including pensions, amounted to more than $300,000,000. That is, based on expenditures, we are more militaristic than Germany. In Europe every workman is said to carry a soldier on his back; in the United States he must carry at least two. We pay these enormous taxes for about 75,000 men; Germany gets a peace army of 800,000 men and a war footing of several millions. The showing is not a pleasant one for democracy. If wars were fought with dollars, instead of with men and guns, we could easily lick all creation. From a budgetary standpoint we are invincible. Recent articles in this magazine, however, clearly show what the real military situation in this country is.

SENSIBLE EUROPEAN PENSION SYSTEMS

All European countries have pension systems. The point is that they grant real pensions, while we promiscuously scatter broadcast enormous sums for political purposes. A European soldier receives a State gratuity on one of two grounds: length of service, with the minimum usually at ten years; and disabilities sustained in action or military service. The English system is fairly typical of them all. Under this no officer or private obtains a permanent disability pension unless he suffers a permanent injury. The loss of an arm, leg, or eye, for example, is regarded as a permanent wound—something from which the sufferer cannot recover; such loss ensures a modest stipend through life. For such loss an English captain gets about $500 a year. An American private for the same injury gets $600. The highest pension a British private receives for disability is $18 a month; the largest sum we pay wounded survivors of the Civil War is $100. The lowest disability pension granted British privates is $3.60 a month; our lowest is six dollars. Moreover, only permanent disabilities give ground for permanent pensions. All others are granted temporarily. They are renewed from year to year, on the basis of medical examination: if the recipient shows signs of recovery, his stipend is stopped. No widow has a right to a pension; it is only granted as a reward for good, faithful, and gallant service. It is only when we compare service pensions in England with the service pensions here that American generosity stands out plainly. Tommy Atkins has no claim to a retirement pension unless he has served fourteen years. He then draws 16 cents a day, or $4.80 a month. A survivor of the American Civil War gets a pension if he has served ninety days, his payments ranging from $13 up to $21, depending on his present age. The highest service pension an English private can get is $7.80 a month—and this for a service of twenty-one years. A Civil War veteran here can get $30 a month for three years' service. As a result of these modest stipends, England's annual charges for army pensions are about $18,000,000. Germany spends just about the same amount. The highest pension a German soldier obtains is $7.30 a month; this after a service of thirty-six years! One so grievously wounded that he needs an attendant receives the same amount. The usual stipend here is $50 a month.

In the Southern States alone we pay $16,000,000 in Federal pensions. This is almost as much as the entire pension budgets of England and Germany.

The European idea is that a pension is only partial support. The United States, however, has taken upon itself practically the entire cost of maintaining its Civil War veterans.

This record of our pension history may fairly be regarded as the record of the Republican Party, traditionally the political party of the old soldier. In an article in the April WORLD'S WORK, the pension story will reach a new phase—the record made by the present Democratic majority in Congress. The last Democratic administration, that of Grover Cleveland, acquired a reputation peculiarly odious among Civil War veterans. Besides vetoing lavishly private pension bills, President Cleveland refused to sign certain general measures that entailed large drafts upon the Federal treasury. Democratic voters for years had found much ammunition in the political alliance, concretely expressed in pension legislation, that had existed between the Grand Army and the Republican Party. The present Democratic majority, however, has far surpassed its predecessors in extravagance. It contains a number of "pension statesman"—men who devote the larger part of their energies as Congressmen to fostering pension legislation, and incidentally improving the standing of their party with old soldiers. In "Dollar-a-Day Isaac R. Sherwood," the House of Representatives contains about the most remarkable statesman of this kind ever known in Washington. Certain senate leaders have seconded their efforts—men like John W. Kern, who, in face of the fact that the United States has paid out $4,500,000,000, to the survivors of the war, denounces the Government on the floor of the Senate for "its broken pledges and its inexcusable ingratitude to the men who saved its life." These leaders have joined hands to work a great political change in the country; to turn the old soldier's vote from the Republican Party into the Democratic camp. To do this they have revised the traditional policy of their party and opened still wider the treasury doors to pension-seekers. How, in the face of Republican opposition, and in the face of the opposition of the strongest Congressional leaders of their own party—men like Mr. Oscar W. Underwood, and Mr. John J. Fitzgerald—they have done this, and how, in order to accomplish it, they have still further prostituted the fundamental pension idea, will be described in the April WORLD'S WORK.

PORK-BARREL PENSIONS

SECOND ARTICLE

MILLIONS FOR THE OLD SOLDIER VOTE

HOW GENERAL SHERWOOD HAS LED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY INTO EVEN MORE SCANDALOUS PENSION PRACTICES THAN THE G. A. R LED THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

A FEW years ago popular discussion of the pension scandal usually assumed a definite, concrete form. The writers had little difficulty in citing individual cases of fraud—usually of men in excellent health who were drawing pensions as irreclaimable invalids. These writers showed that the pension list was also a great nesting-place for criminal characters—fictitious widows, manufactured sons and daughters, imaginary veterans, forgers, affidavit makers, shyster lawyers, and the like. Offenders of this kind naturally throve in a list that contained nearly a million names; their activities, except in so far as lax administration and liberal laws encouraged them, did not necessarily form a genuine indictment of the pension system. The abuses that struck deeper were the conscious frauds committed by *bona fide* survivors of the Civil War. Up to 1907 a Civil War veteran, in order to obtain a pension, had to prove physical disability; any soldier incapacitated in any degree from earning a living from causes not due to his own vicious habits automatically became entitled to a pension. A veteran who could show a slight heart murmur, a suspicion of rheumatism, a touch of nervousness, a mild disarrangement of his digestive system, an infinitesimal dimness in sight and hearing, a little "crepitation of the shoulders," a "furry tongue," or a "tenderness over the stomach," had established a legal claim upon the Nation's bounty.

This particular criticism, however, can be made no longer. When the Senate was debating the Sherwood pension bill in 1912, Senator McCumber, one of the most persistent pension advocates in Washington, dropped an illuminating remark. The new law, he said, "tempts no old soldier to expand his conscience beyond normal limits in order to come within its provisions." This is a description, from a high authority, of what had actually been going on in the past, and a statement that the new law made the practice unnecessary in the future. At present neither "tenderness over the spleen" nor tenderness of conscience is a necessary requirement for a pension. Laborious affidavits by the applicant's physicians, relatives, and friends, describing, in distressing detail, his physical shortcomings, no longer form part of his "case" in the Pension Bureau. The new system is simplicity itself. The veteran needs only to show that he is at least sixty-two years old; this, of course, is a pure formality for survivors of a war that ended fifty years ago, as probably very few entered the army under the age of twelve. Then the records must show that he served at least ninety days, and possesses an honorable discharge, obtained either in due course on his mustering out or by legislative enactment since. These two easily ascertained facts once established, he receives a pension varying from $13 to $30 a month, based upon his age and his length of service.

The latest pension report discloses how this law has simplified the pension system. The roll now contains the names of 429,354 survivors of the Civil War; of these only 52,572 qualify on the ground of physical disability. The remaining 376,782 obtain pensions merely because they served ninety days and

are now alive. It is a safe assumption that the 53,000 invalid pensioners still on the roll represent cases of genuine affliction; most of them draw large pensions, the prices properly paid for loss of arms, legs, sight, or totally incapacitating disabilities. This minority of wounded veterans may be regarded as our real "roll of honor."

The remaining 376,000 survivors represent the new idea in pension legislation. The United States now has an old-age pension system. It differs from that in England only in that the survivors of the Civil War alone can qualify for it.

DEMOCRATS AFTER THE SOLDIER VOTE

The fact that the Democrats, and not the Republicans, have contributed most to this new era of pension debauchery is politically significant. The cultivation of the old soldier vote has been traditionally a Republican prerogative. Up to 1912 this party had written practically all our pension legislation. For more than a generation the alliance between this organization and the Grand Army of the Republic has been an outstanding political fact. The only impediments this organization has ever encountered were the first and second administrations of the Democratic Grover Cleveland. In the last five years, however, to quote the words of a Democratic pension agitator, "political psychology" on this subject has been changing. Certain Republican leaders had acquired an unfavorable fame by demanding pension retrenchment. President Taft had raised a warning voice. His Secretary of the Treasury, Franklin MacVeagh, had declared, in a public speech, that "we have a perfectly enormous Civil War pension list, which is not a credit to us. It has lost its patriotic aspect, and has become a political list." Certain Republican leaders, especially Payne and Dalzell, had spoken boldly in Congress against its further extension. In 1910, the pension fanatics had attempted to get through the so-called Sulloway bill, which would have added about $22,000,000 to our pension expenditures; this, however, influential Republicans had blocked. The pension agitators had their own explanation for this: the "money power," always opposed to giving the old soldier his due, now controlled what had formerly been a patriotic organization. It certainly did look, as a Democratic orator said in Congress a year ago, as though "Democracy had become the residuary legatee of the honor which once belonged to the Republican Party of being the special friend of the old soldier."

PENSION MONEY A POLITICAL "INTEREST"

In 1910, the situation was something like this: a Congressional election was to take place in the fall and a Presidential election two years ahead; the Democratic Party, already apparently in the ascendency, was looking for support wherever it could find it. The Republicans, by refusing to pass more pension bills, had apparently, in the eyes of the old soldier, "laid down" on the pension issue. This furnished the Democrats a rich political soil, especially in certain close political states, like Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio. As a warning letter to Senator Clapp, which he read in the Senate, said: "The old soldier is not played out yet in the politics of the country, some people may discover in the near future. He is still on the picket line, watching, ready with his gun for 'Who goes there?'" And so in these elections, as Democratic Congressmen rather indelicately expressed it, "additional relief" to Civil War veterans became a campaign "slogan." The figures contained in the Pension Commissioner's reports show how important politically this issue could become. There are about 2,500 old-soldier voters on an average in each Congressional district. The states especially noted as political hotbeds have more; thus Ohio has 3,500, Indiana 4,000, and Illinois 3,000, while there are only about 1,000 in New York, and 2,800 in Pennsylvania. These figures represent more than two or three or four thousand voters; they represent old soldiers, their widows—who are extremely active politically, even in states where they cannot vote—their sons, grandsons, and neighbors. The disbursements of pensions average about $500,000 in each Congressional district; this money, especially in country sections, going, as it does, into the pockets of tradesmen and house owners, is an important element in its economic life. The pension money, that is, constitutes an "interest"; the grocery man, the butcher, the small retail merchant each profit by it. In many a Congressional district, especially in the pension belt, this amounts to enough to swing an election. People who talk against it belong to that unpopular group who are "hurting business."

ELDER STATESMEN OF THE PENSION LIST

In the last few years the Democratic Party has developed certain "pension statesmen" who can be worthily ranked only with their Republican predecessors in their "palmiest days." In the minds of these statesmen, the Washington Government exists for one purpose, and one purpose only—to pay pensions. Money is raised by taxation, not to maintain the Government, but, first of all, to provide a pension fund. This pension mania is a form of fanaticism that verges on the pathological. Take, for example, a man like Mr. Isaac R. Sherwood, the most venerable figure in the House. Here we have the species in its most dangerous form, because the man is so sincere. Mr. Sherwood honestly believes that the American Government will function normally only when it pays a dollar a day to all survivors of the Civil War who saw at least a year's service. The recent Democratic law goes by his name; he regards it as so ungenerous, however—it has increased pension expenditures only about $22,000,000—that he denies the paternity, and has never consented to accept a pension under its terms. One can gauge Mr. Sherwood's Congressional activities only by glancing at the index of the *Congressional Record*. In the last session, for example, he introduced fifty-one bills; they all related to pensions. Virtually all his speeches are concerned about the same subject. The tariff, the trusts, Panama, Mexico—these issues interest Mr. Sherwood and his kind hardly at all; the business of Congress begins and ends with providing "additional relief" for the survivors of a war that ended fifty years ago. Mr. Sherwood has a most creditable war record: he is a "hero," a "savior of the Republic" in no mere rhetorical sense; he entered the Army as a private, fought for four years in forty-three battles, many of them the bloodiest of the war, distinguished himself for courage and ability, and came out a brigadier-general. Despite this he is one of our leading pacifists: He would muster out nearly all our present standing army, stop building battleships, and abandon work on the Panama Canal. He would do this so that the money so saved could be spent, to use his own words, on pensions "to needy and meritorious soldiers." General Sherwood has several sympathetic co-workers in the pension crusade; men like Congressman Adair of Indiana, Congressmen Burke [of Wisconsin] Key, Senator Shively, and John W. Kern, the Democratic leader in the Senate. I have said that, with minds of this stamp, pension expenditure becomes a disease; a few quotations from their speeches will show what I mean. Though the American people have spent $4,500,000,000 in pensions to the veterans of the Civil War, the constant complaint of these elder statesmen of the pension list is that the country has been ungrateful, and that the time has finally come to show our gratitude.

AN "UNGRATEFUL" REPUBLIC

"Resolved," said the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic at Rochester in 1911, "that it is the sense of this forty-fifth encampment that the time has come to-day, fifty years after the outbreak of the great Civil War, to deal generously with the survivors of that war."

The problem of the Democratic Party, therefore, was to repair the inexcusable negligence of the Republicans in spending only $4,500,000,000 in pensions in fifty years. Under Mr. Isaac R. Sherwood's leadership, they had already given an intimation of what they would like to do. Mr. Sherwood, on his accession to a Congressional seat in 1907, at once began the campaign that has earned him the title of "Dollar-a-day-Sherwood." Shortly after taking oath, he made a remarkable appearance in the hall of Congress. Three porters preceded him, their backs bending under enormous burdens. When disentangled, these burdens appeared to be sheets of paper, pasted together, extending, when unrolled, nearly the length of a mile. Mr. Sherwood, with the assistance of his colleagues, unwrapped a single instalment.

It reached from the Speaker's desk down the aisle, around the back of the chamber down another aisle, and up to the Speaker's desk again. Examination showed that it contained a multitude of names, written in trembling hands. In the speech which accompanied this document, Mr. Sherwood explained that it represented many months' hard labor. This petition, he continued, embodies the "most spontaneous soldiers' movement in fifty years." He had spent all his waking hours for a long period writing letters to old soldiers, speaking before Grand Army posts, visiting old soldiers' homes, all in an attempt "to create patriotic sentiment for this bill." The bill in question provided a pension of a dollar a day to all soldiers who had spent eighteen months in the Civil War and pensions involving smaller amounts to those of shorter service. This was the beginning of the legislative struggle that ended in the passage of the law of 1912. Few pension statesmen have had quite such a difficult time as Mr. Sherwood. The Commissioner of Pensions estimated that his proposed law would increase our pension expenditures to $182,000,000 the first year and to $224,000,000 the second. Quite a tempting morsel, one might suppose; something that ought to make Mr. Sherwood a hero in every Grand Army Camp. Strange to say, the Grand Army showed no enthusiasm for Mr. Sherwood or his bill. Its official heads persecuted and vilified their venerable benefactor on all possible occasions.

They lost no opportunities to heap insults on his head. Thus when the National Encampment met in 1908 at Toledo, General Sherwood's home town, it did not invite him to speak, although he is one of the highest ranking surviving officers of the war. Instead it "featured" General Kiefer, "Ohio's greatest Republican soldier," who had made himself conspicuous by attacking the Sherwood bill. Comrade John McElroy, the editor of the *National Tribune*, the journalistic leader for a generation in the fight for bigger pensions and more of them, assailed Mr. Sherwood for several years in his most brilliant literary manner. About the time Sherwood introduced his bill, the G. A. R. National Encampment passed a resolution agreeing not to ask for any more pensions—so far as the old soldiers were concerned, they were "satisfied" with existing conditions. On one occasion when this white haired veteran of forty-three battles—the oldest man in Congress—attempted to address a G. A. R. meeting, the chairman rapped him down.

OPPOSITION OF THE "HOUSE OF LORDS"

This attitude discloses a most phenomenal paradox: the Grand Army of the Republic fiercely fighting against an increase in the pension list! Opponents of the Sherwood bill used this fact as a telling argument against it. Why give the old soldiers more than they demand? "The rotten demagogues," said Congressman Dies, "gave the public corn from the public crib to get votes, but I never heard it charged that they gave them more corn than was demanded." In General Sherwood's eyes the opposition of the Grand Army leaders and its famous pension committee was a circumstance easily explained. The Grand Army was a Republican institution; Mr. Sherwood was a Democrat. The Grand Army existed, declared Mr. Sherwood in open Congress, chiefly to deliver the vote of old soldiers to the Republican candidates; its pension committee, therefore, did not propose to have a Democrat "get the credit" for the grandest pension scheme ever conceived by the mind of man. An inner ring, known as the "House of Lords," controlled this organization; it had a rule that only the National Encampment could speak for the organization in pension matters; any action of separate posts or individuals was "guerilla" pension warfare, upon which it frowned. The Pension Committee had written all the pension laws of the last thirty years, keeping the old soldier vote in the Republican Party for the same period, and it did not propose to have this pleasant arrangement terminated now. As for Comrade McElroy, the mainspring back of most of the pension legislation for a generation, General Sherwood explained his opposition in words that were plain, if somewhat unparliamentary: He was receiving contributions from Republican candidates and Republican campaign committees. Subsequent events lent considerable support to General Sherwood's explanation of Mr. McElroy. In 1911 this distinguished pension journalist and historian conducted a lively campaign for the position of commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic—the highest office in the order. His main argument, according to his campaign literature, was the fact that the G. A. R. was facing "a political emergency that calls for unusual action." This "emergency," it appeared, was the danger that the Democratic Party might capture the old soldier vote in the next Presidential campaign. The "unusual action" needed to rescue it from such a calamity was apparently Comrade McElroy's election as head of the organization. These statements appear in the following letter, sent out in the interest of Comrade McElroy's canvass:

My dear Comrade:

You may hear from Senator Penrose that the Administration strongly desires my election as commander-in-chief.

There are important political reasons for this, of which you are quite as well aware as I. You know the cold heartedness of so large a portion of our comrades towards the President and the Republican Party.

It is recognized and freely stated by all the leading Republicans that, as commander-in-chief, I can do more to harmonize this schism than any man in the Grand Army of the Republic.

Having written for the veterans for the last 40 years and gained their entire confidence in every part of the country, they will believe me in whatever I may say as to the situation and be inclined to listen to my persuasions to come back into the fold. I have New York certain, and if I can get the support of Pennsylvania, it will make my election certain. . . .

It seems to me that this is a political emergency which calls for unusual action. We want to see the Sulloway Bill enacted, the Republican Party succeed, and Taft reëlected President.

Yours, in F. C. & L.

JOHN MCELROY

Washington, D.C.,
August 18, 1911.

Possibly, therefore, General Sherwood may have had some ground for his theory that the Grand Army opposition to his dollar-a-day proposal had its real origin in the fact that it was a Democratic idea. The Grand Army resolution of 1911, already quoted, insisting that the time had at last come to deal generously with the old soldier, shows that this organization was not really hostile to additional pension expenditures. General Sherwood seems to have attempted something in the nature of "democratizing" the Grand Army. He was committing the unpardonable sin—leading in a "guerilla" attack; that is, he was going over the heads of Comrade McElroy and his associates, and appealing directly to the rank and file. Consequently pensions, in the elections of 1910, became a live campaign issue. The Democrats visited old soldiers at their posts and in the Soldiers' Homes, asking each man what "he wanted done about his pension," and sent broadcast (at the Government's expense, of course) thousands of copies of the Sherwood law. In Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, Democrats and Republicans competed against each other for the favor of the "old fellows." "Uncle Joe" Cannon admitted, in Congress, that this Democratic pension campaign made his days and nights miserable. Evidently it proved a good investment in some cases. "My vote on the Sherwood bill," said Representative Adair, who ran his campaign on a dollar-a-day platform, "increased my majority 10,000 votes."

"BILL NO. 1"

In December, 1911, the new Democratic Congress convened; its very first bill, "Bill No. 1," was one providing a pension of a dollar-a-day for old soldiers. In its original shape, it was so slovenly drawn that it pensioned Confederates as well as Union veterans; "all soldiers in the Civil War" was the way it described its beneficiaries. It is not necessary here to trace the fortunes of this bill in detail. The Democratic House passed it amid great enthusiasm; Speaker Clark, then a receptive candidate for the Presidential nomination, insisted on having his vote counted in its favor. A more economical Republican Senate seriously changed this bill, so that, as finally passed, it added $22,000,000 instead of $75,000,000 to the pension rolls. In this form President Taft signed it.

Possibly nothing better explains the motive power back of this extravagance than an anecdote told in Congress by Representative Callaway, of Texas:

I want to repeat a conversation of an old Congressman who was for the pension bill and a new one who was making a patriotic talk:

"Now," he says, "I am going to vote for the Sherwood bill, just as you are, and for the same reason. Another bill is coming in here—this militia-pay bill—and when it comes I am going to vote for that, and you will, too. I am going to vote for this Sherwood pension bill because I am an old man and do not want to quit Congress, and these old fellows are pretty well organized in my district, and I do not think I can be elected without their vote, and I do not know how to get it without buying it, and I am a poor man and not able to purchase it with my own money, and this is an opportunity to take money out of the Federal Treasury and buy it. . . . And that is the reason why you are going to vote for it.

OUR NEW KIND OF PENSIONS

What kind of pensioners have these new laws given us? What did Mr. Franklin MacVeagh mean when he said that the pension list had lost its patriotic character?

The records of the War Department show that about 2,200,000 men participated in the Civil War on the Northern side. This large army naturally falls into two groups, fairly well defined in the records of enlistment. About fifty per cent. of these men, or 1,000,000, served less than a year, the larger number for ninety days; the other 1,000,000 saw service for the greater part of the war. In April, 1861, President Lincoln called out 75,000 three-months men; these soldiers, the rawest of raw recruits, accomplished practically nothing that was creditable; their terms of enlistment expired at the particular moment when their services were most needed. In June, 1861, the President obtained 647,000 three-year men, and, in 1862, 421,000 three-year men. In these the United States had an army of 1,068,000 soldiers, all enlisted for three years; as their terms expired, the greater number reënlisted, and were known as "veteran volunteers." These were the men who conquered the Confederacy. They represented, in the main, the flower of our citizenry; young men—the average age was not above twenty-one—who were called from the farm, the factory, and from commercial life. No nation has ever had finer troops. Any perfervid Congressman who wishes to describe these soldiers as "heroes," "saviors of the Republic," or "battle-scarred warriors," will meet with no dissentient voice. They were all that and more. As year after year went by, however, and the Confederacy was still unbeaten, it became apparent that patriotic enlistments of this character were not supplying men enough to end the war. Congress did not courageously face the question and enforce conscription, but it resorted to devices to entice men into the army. The Federal Government, the states, and sometimes towns and counties offered "bounties," that is, cash payments on enrolment. There were parts of the country where a man, on entering the army, could obtain $600 or $700 spot cash from these several sources. Inevitably this policy caused a deterioration in the service. In particular a new profession sprang up known as "bounty-jumping."

A man enlisted, was paid his bounty, deserted, and enlisted elsewhere under another name, obtaining another bounty. According to Mr. Charles Francis Adams, nearly 500,000 men deserted from our Civil War army—almost one quarter of the total enrolment. The great majority of these were short-time men—men enlisted for a year or less. Thus in 1864 more than 1,000,000 joined the colors, 600,000 of whom, it has been estimated, served for not more than three months. For the larger part, these men were decidedly inferior to those who really fought the war. They had practically no military training, saw virtually no service, and exercised a demoralizing influence on the army. The more seasoned troops looked upon these "squirrel hunters" with contempt. To-day the white-haired three-years' warrior, as he reads the speeches of lachrymose Congressmen, eulogizing these ninety-day men as patriots of an especially exalted character, indulges in a reminiscent grin. He knows that very few of them have ever seen a Confederate flag outside of a museum, that a considerable number were drunken and disorderly roustabouts, and that they were the very men who have given the Civil War army such an unenviable record for desertions. Here is the testimony of Mr. Washington Gardner, Past Department Commander of the Department of Michigan, G. A. R., given before the pension committee of the United States Senate:

"I say to you what I know to be a fact. While many of these men [men mustered into the United States service who served 100 days] fought and fought well, the great body of them simply went to man the forts, to relieve the three-year men that went to the front and did the shooting. That is a fact, gentlemen. Lots of these men never got the polish off their shoes. It is no disparagement to them. They did all they were called upon to do. They wore paper collars and ate soft bread. Ohio had how many regiments of that kind, Colonel McElroy, that never—lost a man?"

Mr. McElroy [the comrade referred to above as the custodian of the Grand Army vote for the Republican Party]: "Oh, quite a number of them never saw any fighting and never heard a cannon."

There is no pension system in any other country that would admit men with such military records to the pension rolls. But the Act of 1907 had already allowed this mass of unmilitary soldiers into our pension list. It paid them exceedingly high pensions, merely because, as soldiers for a brief period—a summer outing—they had shown a friendly disposition toward military service. They were pensioned thus mainly for good will—for what in especially favorable cases they expected to do, not for what they had done. The vice of the Democratic Act is that it has greatly increased the already exorbitant pensions these warriors were receiving. Under the first Act, for example, a soldier 70 years old—practically all have reached this age—received $15 a month—in itself a very high pension, twice as much as England and Germany pay their most seasoned regulars; he now obtains varying amounts ranging from $18 to $25. The Republicans paid a 75-year-old veteran $20 a month; the Democrats have increased this from $20 to $30. The net increase in the pension roll, as already said, is about $22,000,000. And, the Democratic pension statesmen say, greater increases may be expected. "This bill does not end pension legislation." said Congressman Adair, one of the greatest offenders, speaking of the Sherwood law.

For thirty years, Congress has indulged in two pension practices that have especially aroused public indignation. One is the custom of passing private pension bills, giving pensions to soldiers and their dependents who cannot qualify under existing laws. Such bills practically nullify existing laws for the particular people in whose interest they are passed; the favors are purely political, distributed to men and women who have sufficient political influence.

PRIVATE BILLS STILL A THRIVING INDUSTRY

The other abuse, even more reprehensible, is that of passing special Acts giving honorable discharges to men who have been dishonorably discharged—for the most part deserters. By legislative fiat, Congress deliberately falsifies existing records—says that a man was an honorable soldier when the War Department records say that he was not. One of the arguments in favor of the Sherwood bill was that these practices, especially that of passing private bills, would end. It has not ended at all. It is not necessary to quote statistics, since it is the deliberate policy of our Democratic pension statesmen that it shall not end. According to Congressman Burke, the Committee on Invalid Pensions, which handles these "cases," is "always open to the appeal of the many, needy and afflicted soldiers and their widows. We are freer to act upon the merit of each claim than is the Bureau of Pensions. Technicalities that prevent the doing of justice are brushed away." This is practically an open invitation to all pensioners to come and ask for an increase—for there are very few survivors of the Civil War now not drawing a pension of some size.

A few illustrations may show the extent to which soldiers' records are still being "corrected." I could fill pages with cases of this kind. I simply take at random a few specimens—all acted on in 1914. Here, for example, is one Daniel Hampton, passed upon favorably by the Committee on Military Affairs on February 20, 1914. According to the War Department records, Daniel Hampton was court martialed on July 23, 1865, for assaulting his

commanding officer, Captain Eldridge; he bit him in the hand, and called him certain unprintable names, "repeating the same several times until he was gagged." He also assaulted his corporal while in the performance of his duties, and used similar epithets. For this, the Court sentenced him "to be dishonorably discharged from the service of the United States and confined at hard labor, with a ball and chain attached to his left leg, for the period of one year." Hampton was put in the guardhouse, in accordance with this sentence; in spite of the "ball and chain attached to his left leg," however, he made his escape. His country heard no more of him until, in 1914, he turned up, 82 years old, asking for the "correction" of this record and a pensionable status. The Senate favorably reported the measure "for his relief," and—if still alive—he is probably drawing a good sized pension.

Here is the case of William M. Carroll, favorably reported on February 21, 1914. The records show that this man enlisted twice, deserted twice, and was absent without leave once. He served in the war under three different names—William H. Carroll, George Hancock, and George W. Thompson. Certainly these two desertions and three aliases justify at least a suspicion that this "hero" was a bounty jumper. According to Senator Kenyon, of Iowa, however, who put in the bill for Thompson's (or Carroll's or Hancock's) "relief," it is a "meritorious case." The Committee on Military Affairs reported that "he was not a bounty jumper, as we are informed." In due course, Comrade Carroll will probably become a pensioner.

In March, 1914, the committee reported favorably a bill for the relief of Matthew Logan, a private, late of Battery H, First Regiment Rhode Island Artillery Volunteers. An excuse for dishonorable discharge usually acceptable to Congress is that a soldier became the victim of "a cruel, overbearing superior officer." Logan's was apparently a case of this kind. The War Department record, however, shows that, in the latter part of April, 1865, Logan was court-martialed for "violence against his superior officer" and "attempt to incite mutiny," and that the Court found him guilty and sentenced him "to be drummed out of the service of the United States, with loss of all bounty, pay, and all allowances now due, and that he be confined at hard labor for two years." Congress absolutely ignores this official record, made fifty years ago by men who had thoroughly investigated the facts, and cheerfully accepts Logan's statement that he was merely indulging in a patriotic celebration of Grant's victory over Lee. As a result of this belated reinstatement Logan is recommended for the pension roll.

The War Department records for November 12, 1864, have this entry: "By direction of the President, Captain J. P. Wagner, 202d Pennsylvania Volunteers, is hereby dishonorably dismissed from the service of the United States for drunkenness and desertion of his command while on picket guard." The latter offense, of course, is one of the most serious a soldier can commit. Moreover, the record shows that Wagner did not desert his picket guard because he was drunk, but evidently in order that he might get drunk—at least, "he went to the camp of another regiment, where he had acquaintances and friends" and where a splendid debauch ensued. But the Senate Committee ignores this offense, and now recommends "relief which provides for admission, if desired, in any branch of the National Home for disabled volunteer soldiers and for a pensionable status as though the soldier's final discharge from service had been honorable."

One could go on relating instances of this kind without end. The files of the military and pension committees of both Houses are packed with them. The purpose of giving these few cases is not to rehearse once more a long familiar scandal, but merely to show that the abuse is still an active one. In private pension legislation, as in general laws, the Democrats have proved worthy successors of the Republicans.

PORK-BARREL PENSIONS

THIRD ARTICLE

MAKING THE SPANISH WAR PAY

THE UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS AS THE SUCCESSORS OF THE G. A. R.—HIGHER PENSIONS FOR A SMALLER WAR — BUILDING ANOTHER GREAT POLITICAL PENSION MACHINE — HOUNDING RECALCITRANT CONGRESSMEN

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

IT ALWAYS pains me," says Congressman Burke, a Democratic pension statesman, "to see pension payments decrease." Though our pension statesmen have made heroic efforts to inflate the pension rolls, the year 1915 shows a material decrease from the high tide of the year before. Survivors of the Civil War are dying at the rate of 100 a day; about 35,000 automatically drop from the pension rolls every year. In 1909, 620,000 veterans were drawing pensions; in 1914 there were only 462,000. As the men grow older the percentage increases; it seems a fair prophecy, therefore, that in fifteen years only a few scattering pensioners will be left from the Civil War. Congress, of course, will still find ways of increasing Civil War pensions; it can increase the rates and add several hundred thousands of dollars to governmental bounty, but it cannot keep up with Civil War pensioners alone.

To prevent a decrease an entirely new crop of pensioners is needed: a group of four or five hundred thousand young men who can give vitality to the pension roll for the next fifty years. The fates met this need in 1898, when, as the result of a brief summer campaign against the decaying

THE HOME OF THE PENSION PRESS

THE GLOBE PRINTING COMPANY, IN WASHINGTON, D. C., WHERE THE "NATIONAL TRIBUNE" AND THE "AMERICAN STANDARD" ARE PUBLISHED—ONE THE CHIEF ADVOCATE OF CIVIL WAR PENSIONS. THE OTHER LEADING THE SPANISH WAR PENSION CAMPAIGN

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THE GLOBE PRINTING COMPANY, IN WASHINGTON, D. C., WHERE THE "NATIONAL TRIBUNE" AND THE "AMERICAN STANDARD" ARE PUBLISHED—ONE THE CHIEF ADVOCATE OF CIVIL WAR PENSIONS, THE OTHER LEADING THE SPANISH WAR PENSION CAMPAIGN

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POSSIBLY THE NEXT COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED SPANISH WAR VETERANS, AND AN EAGER WORKER FOR NEW PENSION LAWS IN THEIR FAVOR

Spanish empire, they raised for Uncle Sam a volunteer army of about 400,000 men. The pension problems of the next half century will not revolve around the magic letters "G. A. R." On Dewey Day, Santiago Day, and Memorial Day several thousand specimens of vigorous young American manhood parade the streets, clad in uniforms of mingled blue and gray, their caps and collars bearing the gold embroidered letters "U. S. W. V." Their most conspicuous characteristic is their youth. Thousands are less than forty years old; not many are more than forty. Their firm, vigorous tread, their strong, upright shoulders, their unlined features, their hair untouched with gray, contrast strongly with the tottering steps of the straggling contingents representing the G. A. R. These youthful enthusiasts, however, will furnish the American people their future pension problem. "In the near future our organization," says the *American Standard*, the official organ of the U. S. W. V., "will be the greatest association of war veterans in the Republic. Let us begin, then, to measure up to the great responsibility that will be ours when the grand G. A. R. is no more. Then the sacred obligation of observing and preserving Memorial Day will be ours, *as well as legislative enactments for soldiers, sailors, marines, and their dependent ones*, besides maintaining in full measure American patriotism."

The professional pension attorney in his widely circulated literature now says little about the Civil War: he addresses nearly all his appeals to Spanish-American survivors. Pension statistics show that these "maintainers of American patriotism" have already made a satisfactory start. Altogether only about 30,000 soldiers in the Spanish War ever saw active service in Cuba; at present 29,000 veterans are drawing pensions, their payments aggregating nearly $4,000,000 a year. The war of 1812 cost the American people $45,000,000 in pensions in a hundred years; we have paid Spanish-American veterans $46,000,000 in sixteen years. Those same young men have already drawn as much pension money as the survivors of the Mexican War. A grateful Republic paid the Revolutionary patriots $70,000,000 in a hundred years; the veterans of a three-months' campaign in 1898 have already received more than half as much. And they have merely made a beginning. With the Civil War as a basis, we can estimate what the war with Spain will ultimately cost the American taxpayer. About 2,200,000 men fought in the Civil War on the Northern side; the Spanish War and the succeeding campaigns in the Philippines enlisted about 400,000. If the pension rates remain as they are now, and the present pension proclivities of Congress are unchecked, our Spanish-American War pensions will amount to about one fifth of those we pay on account of the Civil War. At this rate, in 1948, fifty years after the fall of Santiago, these veterans will be drawing about $33,000,000 a year from the Federal Treasury; our total expenditures, in the course of half a century, will reach nearly $1,000,000,000.

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THE LATE CONGRESSMAN RODDENBERY

WHO WORE HIMSELF OUT OPPOSING THE RISING TIDE OF SPANISH WAR PENSIONS

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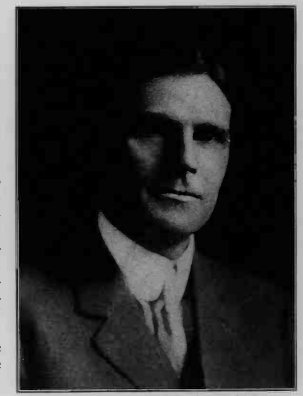
SENATOR SHIVELY, OF INDIANA

CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE PENSION COMMITTEE AND A "FRIEND" OF SPANISH-AMERICAN VETERANS



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WHO IS LEADING THE FIGHT TO MAKE PENSIONABLE WIDOWS OF SPANISH-WAR VETERANS WHETHER THEY DIED AS THE RESULT OF SERVICE OR NOT

From the very beginning these soldiers have had a keen realization of pension opportunities. Promptness and forehandedness have been the characteristics of their pension campaign. It is hardly necessary to emphasize at this time that the war with Spain was not a brilliant military achievement. The enemy was weak and disorganized; its military power crumbled to pieces one hundred days after the declaration of war; hostilities, which began in April, were formally concluded in August. In eliminating Spain from the Western world the United States had an unpleasant but not a difficult task; we did it quickly, with little loss of life: to that degree the exploit was a creditable one. Compared with the four-years' Civil War, however, the crushing of Spanish power in Cuba was merely a brief summer holiday. About 250,000 men enlisted in this campaign; of these only 30,000 ever reached the scene of hostilities; the rest spent their time in camps on American soil. Fatalities were very few; there were only 280 deaths as a

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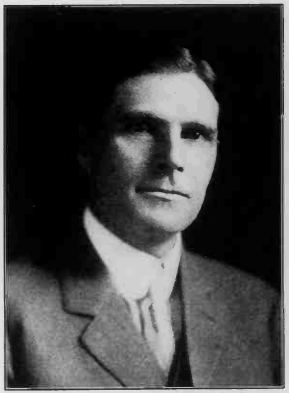

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result of battle wounds; only 2,900 from wounds and disease combined. Under ordinary circumstances a military enterprise of this kind ought not to have materially increased the pension roll. But pensions had become part and parcel of our national psychology. The young men who enlisted for the Spanish War were in many cases the sons of Civil War veterans; in any event they were familiar with our national pension habit; in their minds, serving one's country, even serving it bloodlessly, necessarily implied a pension. Only such a mental attitude can explain the eagerness with which these survivors began to attach themselves to the pension list.

Here, again, we must make our position clear. Any soldier who fought in the Spanish War, and suffered wounds or incapacitating disabilities, is justly entitled to a pension. The present law properly provides that he shall have it. Spanish-American veterans, when faced with the small mortality record of their campaign, emphasize the fact that they suffered greatly from disease. Typhoid, not Spanish bullets, was the thing they had to fear. Here, again, they are on safe ground. But, we must constantly remember, existing laws provide—and rightly provide—liberal pensions for all Spanish-American veterans who can trace their existing disabilities to such sufferings in camp.

In 1872, eleven years after the Civil War, only six per cent. of its survivors had applied for pensions; in 1901, three years after the ending of the Spanish War, twenty per cent. had filed their applications. Not only did the Spanish-American soldiers show a much greater eagerness than their fathers, but the amounts paid them were enormously larger. Only those wounded or otherwise disabled in actual service could file applications; all Spanish-American "cases" came under what is known as the "general law." This is the law, passed in 1862, which provides regular rates of payment for particular disabilities. Until 1890, when Congress began passing laws for the particular benefit of Civil War veterans, this was the only comprehensive pension law we had. Since its adoption in its original shape, however, this general law had undergone many modifications. Pension agitation from 1862 to 1890 aimed mainly at "liberalizing it"; a "liberalization" that commonly meant increasing the amount paid for particular disabilities. As originally passed, this measure paid moderate stipends; after nearly half a century's amendments, however, these stipends represented, in many cases, much larger incomes. In the years before the Spanish War a host of agitators, pension attorneys, pension doctors, politicians, and "patriotic" organizations had engaged in a wholesale and successful campaign for increasing the monthly payments. The veterans of the Spanish War now automatically profited from all this legislation. In 1865, a Civil War veteran who had lost an arm at the shoulder joint

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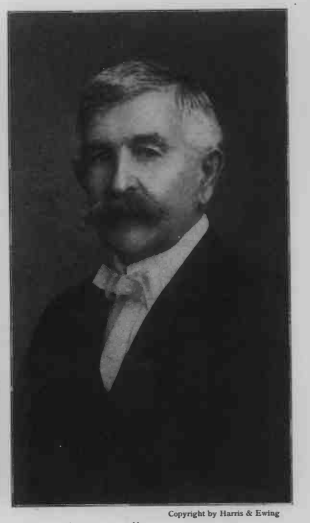

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A BOOM TO PENSION ATTORNEYS

Another circumstance explained this rush which the Spanish-American volunteers have made upon the pension roll. In 1865, when the Civil War ended, there was really no well organized profession of pension soliciting. In the succeeding thirty-five years this new business had reached immense proportions. Nearly every town and village in pension districts of the United States had its pension attorney; Washington had several large agencies located, as their advertisements said, "near the pension building"; in 1898, about 25,000 men were legally authorized to practise before the pension bureau. This new profession had established itself as firmly as that of medicine or theology or law. However, it faced one great danger: the disappearance of its clients. By 1898 nearly all the Civil War veterans who could claim a bounty by virtue of disability were on the pension roll; Congress was already considering service pension laws, the execution of which would not require much assistance from the legal profession. A thirty-years' combing of the war records had pretty nearly exhausted the material. In 1898, the pension attorney was occupying about the same position as the stage driver on the first appearance of the railroad: he had nothing ahead of him but extinction. The Spanish-American War, however, with the succeeding campaigns in the Philippines, proved his salvation. Here was a brand new crop of future pensioners, 400,000 strong; not so abundant, indeed, as the 2,200,000 men provided by the Civil War; but, in times of business depression, a genuine gift from Heaven. A languishing profession felt the quickening return of vitality; soldiers' newspapers again began to bristle with advertisements, "runners" began to make burdensome the lives of home-coming soldiers, and the daily mail at the pension office, already large, reached even more mountainous proportions. The law promised these gentlemen $25 for every pension they secured; this amount was subtracted from the first pension check. What greater incentive to heroic labors could one ask for? In other words, the Federal Government itself, thanks to the legislation promoted by pension attorneys and the G. A. R., provided a substantial reward for every successful raid upon its own Treasury.

One army regulation, which applied to soldiers in the Spanish War and the Philippines insurrection, apparently protected the American people against attacks of this kind. On mustering out, the physical condition of the soldier received attention. He had to sign a statement, saying whether his physical condition was good or bad; if bad, he had to specify wherein. His commanding officer had to hear his testimony covering these points. Finally the surgeon examined him and made a written statement concerning his condition. These examinations were carefully made with an eye to future demands for pensions; the records, therefore, contain complete scientific reports of the physical condition of every survivor of the war. In the great majority of cases the soldiers testified that they had no disabilities and the examining surgeons confirmed these statements. Ordinarily, therefore, these reports would seem to have offered ample protection against fraudulent claims. If a soldier had reported his condition as "excellent" on mustering out and if his surgeon, after examination, had approved this self-diagnosis, and both reports, properly signed, were reposing in the war archives in Washington, how could such a veteran afterward ask for a pension on the ground of disability acquired in service?

This circumstance, however, did not discourage the pension agent. When the soldiers began to return from the Philippines, in 1901, San Francisco became the great American pension hunting ground. Two of the largest pension agencies in Washington closed their national offices and moved *en masse* to the Pacific Coast.

"RUNNERS" AND "CAPPERS"

Most pension agents who knew their business established branch offices near the Phelan Building in San Francisco, where the Department of California had its headquarters. Almost the first piece of mail the returning soldier received was a circular describing his pension opportunities and directing him to the agent who could get him on the list most expeditiously. The attorneys hired "runners," otherwise popularly known as "cappers" or "grafters," whose business it was to waylay their victims and lead them personally to pension agents. These "cappers" received pay according to a graduated tariff. A soldier who had merely a surgeon's certificate testifying to "slight deafness" or "myopia" netted the "runner" about a dollar; one suffering from a gunshot wound had a market value of $2.50. A special examiner of the Pension Bureau, stationed at San Francisco, reported that it was not an infrequent sight to see on Market Street "an attorney having hold of a poor, sickly soldier on one side, a clothing dealer holding on to his coat tails, while a railroad ticket agent has him by the shoulders and talks transportation to him. They are all pulling and fussing as to who 'saw him first.' A beautiful spectacle, any one will admit, but the general verdict of those who stop and wonder what will eventually become of the poor soldier is, 'He is in the hands of the pension sharks.'"

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to hire men employed in various capacities at the Presidio to act as solicitors for them. Men and women were sent into the Presidio Hospital as visitors to the sick, under the guise of charity and various other pretexts, whose only purpose was to pour into the ears of such soldiers as they could glowing accounts of the system of pensions provided by law, and the merits of some particular attorney who made a business of prosecuting claims. Soldiers were procured to execute declarations for pensioning before their discharge, and such declarations were postdated and retained by the attorneys until after the muster-out, when they were forwarded to the Pension Bureau. It has been found necessary by the commandant and surgeon in command at the Presidio to take measures to prevent attorneys and those connected with them from entering the hospital and constantly to change the details of the ambulance men; by the authorities of San Francisco, to keep a patrol just outside the Presidio gates when occasion demands; by the railroad companies, to prohibit solicitors from importuning soldiers in depots and ferries, and by this Bureau, to detail a special examiner to assist in every way possible in protecting the soldiers from the machinations of disreputable attorneys and their solicitors. Officers of the hospital have been approached even by saloon keepers in the interest of attorneys to secure information from the records. Soldiers and ex-soldiers having an acquaintance with men about to be discharged, or otherwise suited to the purpose of the attorneys, have been employed in large numbers to circulate among the men and advertise the qualifications and "advantages" of different attorneys. These men seize upon their victims whenever and wherever found, and more recently, in view of certain steps taken by the Bureau to prevent the execution of papers by soldiers prior to their discharge, such soldiers have proceded to fill out declarations for pensions and agreements about fees while still in the service, so that all that is necessary to be done after discharge is to sign and make oath to the papers. . . . Some of the resident attorneys report that, in view of the methods employed by some of their competitors, they have come to the conclusion that very little business can be secured by reputable methods and so have retired from the contest."

Such was the motive power back of the applications that now began to stream into the pension office. A few examples will illustrate their frequently farcical character. Here is claim No. 1264312, executed by a soldier at San Francisco immediately after returning from the Philippines. On mustering out, this patriot signed the following declaration:

Q. Have you any reason to believe that at the present time you are suffering from the effects of any wound, injury, or disease, or that you have any disability or impairment of health, whether incurred in the military service or otherwise?

A. No . . . I declare that the foregoing questions and my answers thereto have been read over to me, and that I fully understand the questions and that my replies to them are true in every respect and are correctly recorded.

The company's commander was examined and answered as follows:

Q. Do you know or do you have any reason to believe, aside from his own statement, that the person who made and signed the foregoing declaration is disabled or impaired in health at the present time by reason of any wound, injury, or disease, whether incurred in the military service of the United States or otherwise?

A. No. I certify that the foregoing statement is correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

The company's surgeon signed this declaration:

Q. Have you subjected the person named above to a thorough physical examination?

A. Yes.

Q. Do you find that, at the present time, he has any disability, whether incurred in the military service or not?

A. None . . . I certify that the foregoing statement is correct to the best of my knowledge and belief.

All three parties to the transaction—the soldier, his commanding officer, and his surgeon—filed these declarations at the Presidio on March 9, 1901. On March 16, 1901—seven days afterward—the soldier applied for a pension. In these seven days his health had apparently suffered a shocking deterioration. He took oath to the fact that he was suffering from the following disorders, all contracted in his country's service:

Disease of the stomach
Bowel troubles
Kidney and bladder troubles
Malarial poisoning and results
Lumbago
Pain in back
Irritable heart

Here is claim No. 1264327, of the same regiment. In answer to the questions as to whether he had any disability, this soldier answered: "Yes, rheumatism (slightly)." The major and surgeon, however, both declared that they could find no rheumatic tendency, but when the soldier alleged any disability a more stringent examination was given. In this case two assistant surgeons went over the soldier thoroughly and made the following report:

We, the undersigned members of a board of examining surgeons for mustering out United States Volunteer troops at Presidio, in San Francisco, Calif., after carefully examining——, a private of Co.——, ——Regiment Infantry, United States Volunteers, find that he has no disability.

These papers were filed on March 11, 1901. On his discharge, on March 16th—five days later—claimant No. 1264327 advanced by forced marches to the nearest notary public and swore, in applying for a pension, that he was thus afflicted:

Stomach and bowel trouble
Piles
Rheumatism, affecting heart

Claimant No. 1264322, in his preliminary examination, certified that he was suffering with "stiffness in the right leg below the knee." His first lieutenant declared that he had never noticed it. The examining surgeon certified that he could discover no disability whatever. Two assistant surgeons, comprising the Board of Examining Surgeons, declared that, after a careful examination, the man was entirely free from disease.

Despite "his stiffness in the right leg below the knee," this particular veteran showed remarkable alacrity in finding his way into the hands of a pension attorney. When he arrived there, this slight disability—which three surgeons of his regiment could not verify—had developed into a case of acute pensionable invalidism. He now swore that he could not earn a living by manual labor and was entitled to governmental support for the following reasons:

Injury to right leg
Disease of urinary organs
Malarial poisoning
Stomach and results
Disease of teeth

Note the logical progress of his complaint from "injury to right leg" to "disease of teeth." The attention of pathologists is called also to the fourth complaint, something brand new to medical science—a disease known as "stomach and results."

Here is claimant No. 1262952, who, according to the statements of the examining board of surgeons, was in perfect physical health on mustering out. Eight days afterward, according to his sworn declaration in the presence of two witnesses, the same man said, in his pension application, that he was suffering as follows:

A twist of right knee—having slipped while coming down mountain side, resulting in weakness of leg—and neuralgia of same; also, at Pagsanhán, P. I., about April, 1900, contracted malarial fever, resulting chills and fever; disease of liver, spleen, and urinary organs, cause, climatic conditions; is also suffering from loss of teeth received during Philippine campaign, caused by food and exposure.

One could go on filling up this magazine with instances of this kind.

THE SUCCESSOR TO THE G. A. R.

In discussing these Spanish and Philippine veterans in 1902, Commissioner of Pensions Henry Clay Evans said that "the foundation of a permanent pension roll has been established that will steadily increase for many years to come and that will have its representations in the rolls at the beginning of the next century, just as the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 are now, and will be, recognized for an indefinite period on the present list of pensioners." Recent events have abund-

antly justified this prediction. Even in minute details the story of Spanish-American pensions is duplicating that of the Civil War, the only point of difference being that the younger beneficiaries are getting their pensions earlier and getting larger ones.

- Already the survivors of the war with Spain have one organization built identically upon the lines of the G. A. R. Organized, like the Grand Army, soon after the end of the war, its membership, like that of the Grand Army, languished for several years. In the late 'seventies, the pension outlook galvanized the G. A. R. into activity: in recent years the hope of pensions has had a similarly stimulating influence upon the United Spanish War Veterans. Like the G. A. R., this Spanish-American aggregation has its posts—or camps—in all important places, its state departments, its national organization. It has its "ladies' auxiliaries," composed of the wives of its members, its distinctive garb, and its identifying badges, buttons, and other insignia. As symbolizing the fact that this younger organization, unlike the Grand Army, is non-sectional in character, its official uniform is a mixture of blue and gray. Like the G. A. R., it has its commander-in-chief holding office for one year, its quartermaster-general, its "patriotic instructors," and the rest. A minute examination discloses other resemblances. Thus, one of the most influential elements of the Grand Army, the nucleus, so to speak, of the whole organization, is its pension committee of seven members. This committee controls and represents the Grand Army in all pension matters. A general by-law forbids separate posts and state camps from concerning themselves with pension legislation; such scattered pension campaigns are denounced as "guerrilla warfare." The National Encampment only speaks with authority upon this subject; the pension committee enforces its "demands." As a result an inner group, known among the rank and file as the "House of Lords," is supposed to control the organization. There are indications that a similar state of affairs is developing within the U. S. W. V. The National Encampment appoints a committee on legislation of five members, reinforced this year by the following members of Congress—all comrades: Senator Fall, Senator James Hamilton Lewis, Senator Miles Poindexter, Representative Richmond Pearson Hobson, and Representative William H. Murray. The rules and regulations of the U. S. W. V. make it the duty of this committee to secure the legislation recommended by the National Encampment, so that the analogy with the G. A. R. pension committee seems fairly complete. In addition, the Spanish-American veterans have recently established national headquarters at Washington in charge of the quartermaster-general, Gustave E. Rausch. One has only to read the discussions at the last two encampments to estimate accurately the duties of this salaried official. Past Commander Smith argued that this national headquarters be kept permanently at Washington, "the very centre of American culture, officialdom, and politics." No secret is made of the fact that, in the words of the official organ, the *American Standard*, the business of the national headquarters is to keep Spanish-American veterans "in direct contact with national legislators."

"COLONEL" MCELROY ANNEXES THE U. S. W. V.

For as the G. A. R. has its official organ so has the U. S. W. V. And here the similarity between the two organizations is especially emphasized. For many years, perhaps the one most influential member of the Grand Army was "Col." John McElroy, the editor of the "great soldiers' weekly," the *National Tribune*. Certainly the old soldier never had a more valiant champion of pensions. In addition to being a great editor and "soldier writer," McElroy is a great politician, the one man upon whom the Republican Party has chiefly depended to deliver the soldier vote at Presidential elections. Five years ago McElroy fell somewhat under disfavor, chiefly because his paper, in addition to advocating pensions, was booming a real estate enterprise at St. Cloud, Fla., where soldiers were advised to invest their savings and spend the rest of their lives raising oranges, grape fruit, bananas, pineapples, and garden truck. A Grand Army Encampment investigated charges that McElroy was swindling old soldiers in this way; this committee dropped these charges, but the National Encampment passed a resolution repudiating any idea that the *National Tribune* was its official organ. However, McElroy is not discouraged; instead, he is broadening his activities. Like the pension attorneys, this pension journalist of many battles has taken the Spanish-American veterans under his wing. The last encampment of the U. S. W. V. adopted the *American Standard* as its official organ. According to the return made to the United States Government the officers of this newspaper are these: Editor, JohnMcElroy, Managing Editor, John McElroy, Publisher, the National Tribune Company. The paper is printed in the *National Tribune* office; it has the same format and, naturally, the same enthusiasm for pensions. Its philosophy is well summed up in the appeal of one contributor who urged Spanish-American veterans to join their patriotic organization: "Go down into your jeans and rake up a little of the long green, which need be but little, and which you can get back later in the form of a pension."

THE WIDOWS' PENSION BILL

Clearly, these several forces comprise the essential instrumentalities for an organized movement for a new pension roll. The attack began in 1912. "With four of our comrades in the Pension Committee of the House," said the commander-in-chief in his annual report for that year, "and a formidable contingent of Spanish War veterans in Congress, the approach of the Presidential primaries and elections, the House Democratic and the Senate Republican, both in keen antagonism as they prepared their rival legislative wares for the electorate of the nation, the committee unanimously resolved that the time was ripe for the introduction of pension legislation." Certainly the spirit of the G. A. R. pension committee has descended upon the patriot who penned those lines—the same patriot being Mr. Maurice Simmons, a veteran now thirty-seven years old, a survivor, who, although he never saw the soil of Cuba in war time, is now especially rampant as an advocate of Spanish-American pensions. The measure in question was one giving a pension of $12 a month to all widows of soldiers in the war with Spain, and $2 to each of their dependent children. Here, as usual, the Spanish-American propaganda evinced its forehandedness. Widows' pensions were not granted on account of the Civil War until 1890, twenty-five years after its end. Moreover, these widows obtained only $8 a month, until March, 1908, when the rate was increased to $12. The United Spanish-Americans, however, propose that their widows shall start with this amount. According to an estimate made by the Pension Bureau, this bill would add $2,500,000 a year to our pension roll. For two years the lobbyists have been haunting Congress in the interest of this bill. The House has already passed it; the Senate, however, has succeeded so far in blocking the measure. In the next Congress an even more persistent attempt will be made to force it through. It is intended only as an opening wedge in a campaign for wholesale Spanish-American pensions.

In order to understand the injustice of this widows' bill, we must keep its provisions clearly in mind. The purpose is not to pension the widows and children of men who lost their lives or who were disabled in the Spanish War. It is, of course, entirely proper that such widows and children should be pensioned; and, as a matter of fact, they are pensioned and have always been. The existing law pensions them. What the proposed measure does is to pension the indigent widow and children of every deceased soldier in that war, entirely irrespective of any disabilities he received. For example, here is a strong and healthy Spanish-American veteran, about thirty-seven years old, who is suddenly killed in an automobile accident, leaving a dependent widow and children. This widow and these children automatically go on the pension roll. The proposed act is purely one of largess; like the laws recently passed for the benefit of Civil War veterans, it violates the essential idea of pensions—that they are payments made for deaths and disabilities received in service.

The United Spanish War Veterans assert that it is not a political organization: its constitution contains the conventional prohibition against political activity. However, it makes a point of vengefully pursuing every Congressman who does not accept its orders on pension matters. The *American Standard*, its organ, conspicuously publishes the names of all Representatives who voted against the Key widows' bill, with the warning "Lest we forget." It urges Spanish-American "vets" in the district to organize against these men. According to reports published from several parts of the country, this advice has been followed successfully. A dispatch from New London, Conn., asserts that the comrades organized to defeat Representative B. F. Mahan, "who had double-crossed us when the Key Bill was passed." A correspondent from Brockton, Mass., writes that "the comrades will be pleased to learn that we defeated Congressman Thomas C. Thacher, Democrat, of the Sixteenth Massachusetts District, who voted against the passage of the Key Bill." Political attacks upon Congressmen who attempt to serve their country, instead of serving the U. S. W. V., is the regular organization policy. One of their most vigorous opponents was the late Congressman Roddenbery, of Georgia—a man who virtually wore himself out fighting pension iniquities. "As soon as informed of the attack on our organization by Representative Roddenbery," says the adjutant-general's report for 1912, "the commander-in-chief directed me to concentrate every effort in Georgia in general, and Roddenbery's district in particular. The result of extensive work in Georgia was the formation of Archie Butt Camp No. 5 at Augusta and Lawton Camp No. 6 at Atlanta, Georgia." As part of this political propaganda an inner organization has been formed knowr as the "Bolomen." As most people know the "bolo" is a long knife which the Filipinos find useful against their enemies. And the Bolo organization exists purely for knifing purposes: to advance politically the friends of the veterans. In other words, unless the Nation nips this propaganda now, we are in for a repetition of G. A. R. politics in its most repulsive form.

Spanish-American veterans not only qualify under the general pension law, but are profiting in considerable numbers from private pension bills. This phase of their activities will be described in the WORLD'S WORK for June.

PORK-BARREL PENSIONS

CONCLUDED

"FROM THE EVIDENCE SUBMITTED"

A NEW ERA OF PRIVATE PENSION BILLS—ACTIVITY OF CONGRESSMEN IN BEHALF OF VETERANS OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

BY

BURTON J. HENDRICK

ANY one who wishes to learn the attitude of Congress on the pension question should attentively study the case of Private Charles N. Ashford, alias William Kenny. The details are somewhat complicated and bewildering; but the romantic facts, after a little disentanglement, stand out distinctly.

On February 20, 1862, Charles N. Ashford enlisted as a private in Company "D," 105th New York Volunteers. In August of the same year Ashford was dismissed from the service as physically unfit. He was suffering from left inguinal hernia—a difficulty which, according to the records of the War Department, had existed prior to his enlistment. A year afterward, however, on August 21, 1863, Ashford enlisted again, this time in Company "K," 97th New York Volunteers. On this occasion he gave the name of William Kenny—this concealment of his real name and of his earlier enlistment being in itself directly in violation of the law. After serving something more than a year he was again dismissed as physically unfit. This disability, however, was entirely to his credit, as he had received a gunshot wound in battle.

On September 17, 1866, William Kenny was pensioned for this gunshot wound. He received this pension until June 4, 1875, when, his disability having entirely ceased, his name disappeared from the pension rolls. The only thing illegal in this proceeding was Ashford's use of an assumed name; nevertheless, he had unquestionably received his wound and the Government had compensated him for it. On June 4, 1875, therefore, his account with his country might be regarded as having been satisfactorily balanced.

Years went on. Ashford, alias Kenny, wandered over the country, and finally settled down in the wilds of Minnesota, on the shores of Lake Superior. The documents in the case do not inform us just what happened in 1888, thirteen years after Kenny's pension had been discontinued; anyone familiar with the pension technique, however, can satisfactorily bridge this hiatus. He had served under two names, and had received a pension under one of them; a rare opportunity here for the pension attorney! At this point, therefore, it is more than likely that the claim agent made his appearance. Kenny's gunshot wound, for which the Government had made reparation, was no longer manifest; Ashford's left inguinal hernia, however, which, according to the record, antedated the Civil War, and therefore, could never furnish an excuse for a pension, was still causing trouble. And now Charles N. Ashford applied for a pension on this ground. In this application, he made no reference to the fact that he was one and the same man as the already pensioned William Kenny. He produced the usual number of comrades who testified to the existence of this hernia and its origin in the service. In due course Ashford received his pension certificate and went upon the rolls at $4 a month. But his first pension check was for more than $1,000, as the department dated the pension back to the day, August 21, 1862, when Ashford left the army. The amount of his pension was increased as time went on, until in 1908 he was drawing $10 a month. Then,

by virtue of the service law passed in 1914, he automatically went upon the Government's rolls at $16.50.

This history—there are other details with which it is unnecessary to confuse the reader—discloses a complicated series of crimes against the pension laws. Here are a few of them:

1. Perjury.
2. Fraudulent concealment of the identity of Charles N. Ashford and William Kenny.
3. Drawing two pensions at the same time.
4. Misrepresentation and fraudulent testimony.
5. Subornation of perjury.

A few details invite particular scrutiny. Observe that, from August, 1863, to October, 1864, Ashford, as William Kenny, was carrying a gun in his country's service. Also note that his pension, as Charles N. Ashford, was dated from August, 1862. The practical result was this: at the very time this dual personality drew soldier's pay as an able infantryman he also received a pension as an invalid! Likewise, from September 17, 1866, to June 4, 1875, this same veteran drew a pension, as William Kenny, for gunshot wound, and another pension as Charles N. Ashford, for left inguinal hernia, in face of the law making it a crime for any soldier to draw two pensions at the same time. Moreover, according to the statement of the Bureau of Pensions, the second pension, on the ground of hernia, was obtained by fraudulent and perjured testimony. "The witnesses as to the origin of said disability in Company 'D,' 105th New York Infantry," says Acting Commissioner Stillwell, in his notification to Ashford, alias Kenny, that his frauds had been discovered, "had no personal knowledge thereof, as shown by special examination, and, in addition thereto, it is shown that you were ruptured on one side, at least, prior to your first enlistment." The Ashford pension, said the Bureau, "was obtained through misrepresentation, fraud, and false testimony." Ashford was also informed that his pension as William Kenny was "obtained through his fraudulent concealment of the fact that Ashford and Kenny were one and the same man." Thus both Ashford's and Kenny's original pensions were obtained by fraud.

A notation on these papers shows why the Pension Bureau did not proceed against Ashford criminally. "The statute of limitations bars prosecution."

CONGRESS COMES TO ASHFORD'S RESCUE

However, on February 5, 1907, Congress passed a law pensioning all honorably discharged soldiers who had seen service of at least ninety days, irrespective of any disabilities. On May 12, 1912, it passed the Sherwood bill, by which it increased the amounts, the increases based upon age and length of service. Under this law Charles N. Ashford became legally entitled to $16.50 a month. He held an honorable discharge; he had served at least ninety days; he had reached the stipulated age; he, therefore, like several hundred thousands of others, qualified for a new pension. The records, however, showed that he had swindled the Treasury out of something more than $4,000. Consequently the Pension Bureau, in issuing Ashford his new certificate, informed him that the payments would be withheld until the Government had been reimbursed for the money it had illegally paid. On the surface Ashford, alias Kenny, seemed to have escaped fairly well. Instead of serving a term in the penitentiary, as he might have done, had his offences been discovered earlier, the United States Government, at its own expense, was to make good his defalcation.

The scene now shifts from the Pension Bureau, which had certainly done its duty in Ashford's case, to the legislative branch of the Government. I invite attention to House Bill No. 2040, introduced at the last session by Congressman Clarence B. Miller, of Minnesota. This bill provides a pension "for Charles N. Ashford, alias William Kenny, aged about seventy years." The report of the House Committee on Invalid Pensions to which this bill was referred concluded as follows:

"It is recommended by this committee that the claimant be granted a pension of $30 a month, in lieu of that he is now receiving, provided that no part of the pension herein granted shall be withheld by the United States or claimed by the United States on account of any pensions heretofore received from the said United States by said Charles N. Ashford."

In March, 1914, the United States Senate, following the lead of the House, passed this bill. In order to make its rebuke even more stinging, the Senate amended the bill by adding this clause:

"The same to be paid to him without deduction or rebate on account of former alleged overpayments or erroneous payments of pensions."

It required no detective skill on the writer's part to discover these amazing facts. They appear in all detail in the pages of the *Congressional Record*. The official documents of the Pension Bureau, including the findings of the Pension Commissioner, were placed at the disposal of Congress in open session, so that it might not act on Ashford's case in ignorance of the facts. Despite this, Congress put in action all the machinery of the legislative branch of the Government to pay a large pension to a demonstrated perjurer and swindler. Two great legislative chambers, the House of Representatives and the Senate, interfered to prevent the Pension Bureau from recovering part of the money Ashford had abstracted from the Federal Treasury. It not only declared that Ashford should receive the pension of $16.50 to which he became entitled under the Sherwood act, but actually increased the amount to $30 a month.

This incident may fairly be taken as representing the attitude of the Democratic majority on the pension question as recently as March, 1914.

CONGRESS AND PRIVATE PENSION BILLS

No incident more strikingly illustrates the abuses which are made possible by the American system of private pension bills. For the last fifty years Congress has passed a mass of remarkable general pension laws. These measures are precise in character. They stipulate just what veterans can receive pensions and the amounts they are to receive. That these constitute the most liberal and comprehensive pension system ever known has been made sufficiently plain. As a result any man who saw service ninety days in the Civil War and is now alive automatically qualifies for the pension rolls. The administration of these laws, however, is the exclusive province of the Bureau of Pensions. But Congress has never been content to leave the pension system in the hands of the Pension Bureau. In addition the House of Representatives has two committees, one on Invalid Pensions, dealing with Civil War cases, and the other on Pensions, dealing with the soldiers of all other wars, and the Senate one.

20,000 PRIVATE BILLS A YEAR

These Congressional committees are really little pension bureaus by themselves. Like the Pension Bureau they receive "applications" for pensions presented to Congressmen in the form of bills, listen to testimony, and make awards. Every year these committees consider not far from 20,000 claims of this kind. In picking out the "meritorious cases," the Congressional committees have one great advantage over the Pension Bureau. They are bound by no laws and no precedents. Their business is to do "substantial justice"; they make free grants of the taxpayers' money, regarding each separate case as a separate problem. Practically every private bill for a pension concerns some case that is not pensionable under the existing liberal laws. Each case, that is, is an "exception," a matter of Congressional favoritism; pensions distributed in this way are simply political patronage, intended purely to strengthen Congressmen in their districts.

The abuse is a long-standing one. So far as veterans of the Civil War are concerned, I have no intention of going into the subject at length at the present time. Thousands of unpensionable old veterans are made pensionable in this fashion every year. So long as Congressional government remains what it is to-day, the most sanguine critic has little hope of changing this practice in its application to Civil War veterans. The last article of this series, however, described the activities of an entirely new crop of pensioners: those provided by the Spanish-American War. Here is a body of young men, the average age probably not being forty years, the over-

whelming majority of whom never saw service outside of a summer camp, who have already received in pensions one half the amount we paid the veterans of the Revolution and more than the total amount paid the soldiers of the Mexican War. These young men, however, profit not only from the general pension laws. In large numbers they are attaching themselves to the pension rolls by way of private bills. The Pension Committee of the House now spends practically all its time considering the claims of Spanish-American veterans. A veteran of the Spanish War, Congressman John A. Key, of Ohio—a Democrat, of course—presides over this committee. Other veterans of the Spanish War are members. I have already shown that, in general pension legislation, the Spanish-American War will provide us a growing pension list for the next hundred years; I shall now show that, in private pension legislation, these youthful, bloodless warriors already constitute a great pension problem.

We can but grasp the extent this abuse has reached by citing certain concrete cases. I could fill several numbers of the magazine and then not exhaust the material at hand. I select merely a few—all acted on by the Sixty-third Session of Congress, the one which adjourned in March.

CONGRESS REWARDS A CRIMINAL

Here, for example, is House Bill No. 11656, providing a pension of $12 a month for George C. Hazeltine, who served in Company "K," 2d Regiment, Texas Infantry. Hazeltine's period of service covered only five months. The War Department records show that he was never sick nor received any medical treatment for any cause. Before enlistment, according to the medical record, he had had external hemorrhoids; this was the only defect found on his mustering out, and this had absolutely no relation to his military service. Hazeltine had filed two applications to the Pension Bureau alleging chronic diarrhea and dyspepsia; both of these the Bureau had rejected. In his application to Congress, Hazeltine set up a new claim; he asserted that, while in the performance of his duty, he had strained himself in the abdomen and back while unloading a provision train and that his intestinal trouble was the consequence of this strain. Had this story been true, Hazeltine would unquestionably have been entitled to a pension, not only legally but morally. But what are the facts? The medical records of the War Department contain no reference to any such injury. When mustered out and asked specifically about his physical condition, Hazeltine signed a paper saying that he was in good health. A surgeon's examination disclosed no disability except the one already described, acquired long before the soldier entered service.

Now either the official records are false in Hazeltine's case, or the man is deliberately falsifying. Of course, there is no probability that the war records are false; they were made on the spot with the utmost care by high grade medical men. Congress, however, rejects the testimony of the Government's records and accepts Hazeltine's statement. Another pertinent question now arises: how credible a witness is this man who is permitted to erase, to his own financial advantage, the records of the War Department? The evidence shows that in 1905, while acting as postmaster at Mobeetie, Tex., Hazeltine defaulted in his accounts. He languished in jail until his wife's relatives made good his defalcation. After that he forged the name of another relative and was indicted; and again his wife's relatives rescued him from his difficulties. They did this, however, only on his promise that he would leave the community; a number of people interested in his absence passed the hat and raised enough money to pack Hazeltine off to Colorado. His wife then obtained a divorce.

"From the evidence presented to the committee," reports Chairman Key and his associates, after reviewing these facts, "it is of the opinion that a pension to this soldier of $12 a month is justified and so recommends."

THE PERSISTENCE OF ONE STANLEY S. STOUT

In reading these committee reports, one frequently undergoes a peculiar mental experience. From the way the facts are presented, you get the idea that the committee is building up a strong case against the claimant. This evidence frequently recites a chain of circumstances, all clearly proving that the claim is unworthy and based upon demonstrated falsehood. Consequently a concluding paragraph, recommending a pension, has all the force of a dramatic surprise. Consider, for a moment, the case of Stanley S. Stout, of Neva, Johnson County, Tenn., who served for less than a year in the Spanish War as a member of Company "C," 6th Regiment, United States Infantry.

When mustered out, Stout signed a declaration saying that he was suffering from no complaint. His commanding officer signed another document to the same effect. The company surgeon, after examination, reported him well and strong. The hospital records contain no entry of treatment for any illness.

Thus, on March 18, 1899, Stout, according to his own statement and those of his superior officer and company surgeon, had suffered no physical deterioration as a result of his patriotic service. One year afterward, however, he put in a claim for a pension, declaring that he was incapacitated by rheumatism and "affection of the left side", acquired in service. A board of surgeons employed by the Pension Bureau examined him and made this report: "We find no evidence of rheumatism or affection of the left side. This claimant is, as far as we are able to ascertain, in sound physical condition and a proper subject for life insurance." A year afterward, however, Stout again applied for a pension. This time he had evidently recovered from the rheumatism and "affection of the left side"; now his pensionable difficulty was "gravel," also acquired in the service. According to the examining board of surgeons, however, Stout's "gravel" was as illusory as his rheumatism; consequently an ungrateful country once more refused to accept him as a pensioner. Undiscouraged, however, Stout, a few years later, again filed an application with the Pension Bureau. Again he alleged his discredited rheumatism and gravel; but now his physical difficulties had increased, for he had also "jaundice, malaria, pleurisy of side, and diarrhea." Once more the long-suffering board of surgeons examined Stout's physical tenement and made the following unfeeling report: "The board states that after careful search for evidence of jaundice, pleurisy, diarrhea, and gravel they are unable to find any existing."

In his repeated assault upon the pension list Stout now decided to ignore the Pension Bureau, and appeal directly to the source of all authority, Congress itself. House Bill No. 2750 was the result. Stout now brings to the front the usual "comrades," who testify that their associate—despite his own signed declaration that he was a well man on mustering out—was suffering from rheumatism, jaundice, and malaria. Stout also brings forth a physician in the person of Dr. J. G. Butler. Four months after his return from the war, Stout says, he suffered from an attack of something from which he was "bad off" and called in Dr. Butler. This latter physician, says Stout, informed him that he was afflicted with malaria and rheumatism. The same Dr. Butler is placed on the witness stand. He testifies that his office records do not disclose that he treated Stout on this occasion and that he has no recollection of any such occurrence.

Clearly, we conclude, after reading this evidence, Chairman Key and his fellow committeemen have pretty effectually demolished Stout's claim for a pension. However, here is their verdict:

"From the evidence submitted your committee believe that the disabilities from which the soldier now suffers were incurred in service and line of duty and recommend the allowance of pension at the rate of $12 a month."

They believe this, be it observed, not because they are really sorry for Stout and wish to oblige some Congressman, or for some other occult reason not disclosed, but—"*from the evidence submitted!*"

AN ELUSIVE CASE OF TYPHOID FEVER

Edward C. Franklin, of 335 London Street, Buffalo, served six months as a volunteer infantryman in the Spanish War. Congress has just pensioned him at the rate of $12 a month for disease of stomach, liver, and heart, claimed to be the sequel

of typhoid fever suffered in the Cuban War. According to Franklin's sworn statement, he was ill with typhoid fever from October 8 to November 6, 1898—an attack so severe that it left three great vital organs, his heart, liver, and stomach, hopelessly impaired. If Franklin's statement is true, his case certainly forms a unique one in medical annals. This is an instance where dates have the greatest significance. Franklin says, for example, that he was taken ill on October 8th, and had sufficiently recovered to return to his regiment on November 6th. His attack, including the acute stage and the convalescence, lasted less than a month—a remarkably short time for a case of typhoid severe enough to injure permanently his heart, stomach, and liver. On November 7th, the very day after his return to his regiment, his health was perfect. We know this because Franklin said so himself. On that day he underwent the usual physical examination on his mustering out. The examining surgeon found Franklin in perfect health, according to the report in the war office; Franklin signed a paper declaring that he had no physical ailment. In other words the official records disclose this fact: the examining surgeon, on almost the very day Franklin had risen from the sick bed, in which he had suffered an unusually virulent attack of typhoid fever, found his physical condition ideal—a diagnosis with which Franklin himself agreed.

A closer examination of the facts discloses a plausible reason for Franklin's fixing his period of illness from October 8th to November 6th. The hospital records show that he received no medical treatment for typhoid fever or for anything in his six months of service. Franklin's regiment, however, had a furlough for this critical month. His sickness, swears Franklin, took place during this month; that explains why there is no medical record. He brings as witnesses two doctors and two friends, at whose house he was ill. One of these doctors is dead. The other, on special examination, testifies as follows: "The only treatment shown by his records was on November 11, 1898, when he gave him some tablets to act on his bowels. Claimant told him that he had had typhoid fever in service, but witness could not recall that he exhibited any marked symptoms of a recent attack of typhoid fever, and his impression at that time was that it was malarial."

Still, there were the affidavits of Mr. and Mrs. William Carter, at whose house, according to Franklin's evidence, he had had this elusive illness. No court could have asked for more detailed evidence than these documents. They contained a long and affecting tale of Franklin's illness, the diagnosis of the physician as typhoid fever, the physical symptoms, and the like. Every line disclosed this paper as a masterpiece of the pension attorney's handiwork. This impression was further emphasized when Mr. and Mrs. Carter, who had signed this document, went on the stand for cross examination. Mrs. Carter could recall nothing of Franklin's illness except when she refreshed her memory by glancing at the affidavit. Finally she burst out: "I myself was sick all of this time and had little time to think of the ailments of others." "Her husband, William Carter (I am quoting from the pension committee's report), who stated that he had been advised by his wife to look over the copy of their affidavit but had been too busy to do so, could not recall the nature of the claimant's alleged sickness at his house, nor how long he was sick, 'nor anything about it,' even when questioned specifically in regard to typhoid fever, heart disease, liver disease, etc., but after hearing his affidavit read stated that he was willing to 'stick by' it, as he consulted with his wife at the time of making it."

The pension committee's report on Franklin's case itself sneers at his claim to having suffered from typhoid fever. "Some of his comrades testify that he did suffer from the alleged typhoid fever in service. The typhoid fever is alleged to have developed while the soldier was on furlough, it will be noted." (Clearly the committee asks this question: if the sickness took place on furlough, how could his "comrades" have personal knowledge of it?)

"From the evidence submitted your committee is of the opinion that the disabilities from which the soldier now suffers may be safelv accepted as due to his service, and recommends the allowance of pension at the rate of $12 per month."

SOME PENSIONABLE AFFLICTIONS

The extent to which the House Committee on Pensions will go in its generosity to veterans of the Spanish-American War is illustrated by the case of Martella M. George, of Vandervoort, Ark. She is the widow of Wallace E. George, who served in the war with Spain in Company "D," 20th Regiment, Kansas Volunteer Infantry. George died August 17, 1908, of typhoid fever. His widow applied to the Pension Committee of the House, through her Congressman, for a pension as his widow on the ground that the typhoid fever, from which he died, was the result of certain disabilities he had suffered in service. The medical records of the War Department show what these disabilities were:

> July 5 to 24, 1898, acute gonorrhea; September 10 to 23, 1898, gonorrhea; December 11 to 21, 1898, gonorrhea; December 28, 1898, to March 5, 1899, gonorrhea, gonorrheal chancroidal adenitis, syphilis; May 10 to June 5, 1899, syphilitic rheumatism, shoulders, back, and legs; June 9 to August 2, 1899, secondary syphilis, mucous patches, mouth and throat; August 2 to August 28, 1899, syphilis, secondary. None of these in line of duty. Discharged August 28, 1899, services no longer required.

On these facts the Pension Committee finds as follows:

"From the evidence submitted your committee is of the opinion that a pension of $12 a month and $2 additional for each minor child until same reaches the age of sixteen years is justified and so recommends." (It should be added that, though the House of Representatives passed this bill after its character had been explained in detail by Congressman Dies, the Senate found it a little too brazen and threw it out.)

Charles Forbes, of Plato, Centre County, Tenn., who served in the war with Spain in Troop "E," 11th United States Cavalry, is at present the sufferer from a weak heart. He asks the Pension Committee of Congress for a pension of $12 a month, on the ground that he acquired this disability as a result of his military service. The War Department records show that from September 29 to November 8, 1901, Forbes was treated for "endocarditis (inflammation of heart lining) contracted prior to enlistment and not in the line of duty." As to Forbes's testimony that this official record is wrong, and that he had really acquired his disease in service, the Pension Committee reports: "His testimony was almost entirely discredited by the witnesses failing to sustain their former testimony when questioned by the special examiner. In the special examination it was shown that the claimant did suffer from weak heart prior to his enlistment, and also had a bad venereal disease which he said was syphilis."

On this set of facts, industriously collected by itself, the Pension Committee renders the following verdict:

"From the evidence submitted your committee believe that the disabilities from which the soldier now suffers may be safely accepted as due to the service, and recommend the allowance of pension at the rate of $12 a month."

THE CASE OF AVERY E. DAVIS

On January 20, 1912, Avery E. Davis, a veteran of the Spanish War, severed an artery in his neck while shaving himself—an accident, unintentional or otherwise, that resulted in his death. His widow applied for a pension to the Pension Bureau, but the claim was rejected on the ground that the soldier's death could not be regarded as due to his military service. When Mrs. Davis appealed to Congress, however, setting forth a unique pathological theory by which she traced her soldier's death, from a self-inflicted wound in 1912, directly to a military service that had ended fourteen years before, she found more attentive listeners. "With the bill the petitioner files an affidavit," the Pension Committee reports, "stating that she believes her husband's death was due to nervousness, resulting from malarial poisoning, which caused his hand to shake so when shaving that he accidentally cut the artery in his neck which caused his death."

The committee accepts this contention, awards Mrs. Davis $12 a month, and $2 a month for each of two minor children.

The Spanish War records show that

Edgar C. Cummings, of Company "C," 2d Regiment, West Virginia Infantry, suffered in hospital from December 19, 1898, to January 10, 1899, from "mumps. No additional treatment shown." Soon after leaving the service he applied for a pension for deafness of the right ear, as due to his military service. The Pension Bureau promptly awarded Cummings $10 a month for his impaired right ear—a pension he has been drawing for fifteen years. Since then Cummings has made periodical appearances at the Pension Bureau, demanding similar compensation for his other ear, claims which the Pension Bureau has rejected. Filed reports of medical examiners reveal an undoubted deafness in the right ear—for which Cummings is receiving $10 a month; but they find no impairment in the corresponding member on the other side of his head. However, the Pension Committee of the House now comes to the rescue, and increases Cummings's pension from $10 to $24. This case furnishes an interesting comparison between the methods of the Pension Bureau and the Pension Committee of the House of Representatives. The former awards $10 for a deafness of a right ear which undoubtedly exists; the Pension Committee gives $14—or four dollars more—for a deafness of a left ear which only interested witnesses can discover.

THE CAUSE OF RHEUMATISM

In the last few years medical scientists in all parts of the world have devoted a large amount of time to attempting to discover the cause of rheumatism. Many suggestive theories have been proposed, but none has yet been generally accepted. A man who could actually run this mystery down would probably qualify for the Nobel Prize. The attention of the Rockefeller Institute and of Professor Ehrlich of Frankfort is now called to the report of the House Pension Committee on Bill No. 5994, granting a pension of $12 a month to Joseph E. Bilbo, a veteran of the Spanish-American War. Any one who reads this official document will at once congratulate humanity that an exceedingly baffling medical problem has been solved. "From the evidence submitted your committee believe the disabilities from which the soldier now suffers were incurred in service and in line of duty." In Bilbo's medical record in the war with Spain we find only one brief entry: "January 11 to 13, 1899, measles."

According to the Pension Committee, therefore, a two days' sickness with measles explains rheumatism—of the pensionable variety—in after life.

There are other difficulties in Bilbo's case, however. Among them these:

At mustering out Bilbo signed a document saying that he was in perfect health.

The medical officer who examined Bilbo certified to the same effect.

As late as January 18, 1911, a board of surgeons, who examined Bilbo in the interest of the Pension Bureau, reported that they could find no evidence of rheumatism "at that time or during the past." His heart and other vital organs were normal. The best a well disposed board of surgeons could do for Bilbo was to report that "the soldier did have the appearance of one who could easily suffer from attacks of rheumatism."

Apparently measles—of two days' duration—not only causes rheumatism, but causes such a subtle variety of the disease that only the victim of the legislative branch of the Government can discover it.

Still, "from the evidence submitted," etc., etc.

The reader needs only one additional fact to understand completely this transaction. This veteran, now pensioned at $12 a month, is thirty-six years old.

However, there are many cases in which even all the ingenuity of the Pension Committee cannot trace "from the evidence submitted" a pensioner's disability to the service. This technicality, however, does not necessarily interfere with the pension.

John Abplanalp, of Midway, Utah, is a veteran of the war with Spain. In May, 1912, fourteen years after the peace treaty, he lost the sight of both eyes in a mine explosion. Were Utah a state sufficiently civilized to have a workmen's compensation act, this unfortunate miner would receive legitimate relief. Instead, the committee recommended that he become a charge on the Federal Treasury at the high rate of $50 a month.

Any one familiar with the pension question will note a certain dissimilarity between these "meritorious cases" and those introduced in the interest of veterans of the Civil War. The Invalid Pension Committee, which handles all Civil War cases, makes no attempt to prove that the claimant's injury is a consequence of his military service. The Pension Committee, which handles Spanish-American cases, feels in duty bound to trace the disability to the dangers associated in meeting the enemy. These attempts, as I have shown, are usually laborious and grotesque. This is necessarily the case since, had the soldier been able to demonstrate a service origin for his ill, it would have been unnecessary to appeal to Congress, as the Pension Bureau would have allowed his claim. The fact, however, that, in Spanish-American War cases, Congress usually finds it necessary to trace the injury to service, while in Civil War cases it makes no such attempt, indicates that these two classes of pensioners stand on entirely different ground. The explanation is simple. Civil War veterans, in order to qualify under the general laws, do not now have to prove disabilities of any kind, only age and service; therefore, Congress, in passing private bills, ignores these points. As yet, however, no general laws have been passed for the benefit of Spanish-American veterans. Like the veterans of the Civil War until 1890, they are pensioned only by the law of 1863, under which they have to trace their difficulties to patriotic service. The Pension Committee, therefore, in deciding on their claims, makes heroic efforts to establish this relation.

TIME TO CHECK SPANISH-AMERICAN ABUSES

The one important point is that the pension abuse is a kind of political rake's progress, starting innocently and eventually reaching the spectacle provided by our treatment of the veterans of the Civil War.. We pensioned first only Civil War survivors who had really suffered in their country's cause; we also properly pensioned the widows and other dependents of such veterans. Then we pensioned all disabled veterans, irrespective of whether their injuries were the result of service, and also pensioned the widows of all veterans, provided the marriages had taken place prior to June 27, 1890. Then, in 1907, we pensioned all soldiers who had seen ninety days' service, whether they were disabled or not; and in 1912, we enormously increased the amount of such pensions. The Grand Army is now making a campaign for a removal of the time limitations on widows; to make all pensionable irrespective of the date of their marriage. These are the general laws, which, with their numerous amendments, have increased our pension bill from $29,000,000 in 1870 to $172,000,000 in 1914. That work, forming one of the most disgraceful chapters in our country's history, can not be undone at this late day.

There is one thing we can do, however, and that is to prevent its repetition. There are 400,000 or 500,000 veterans of the Spanish and Philippine wars, who are rapidly organizing themselves and using familiar political methods in an effort to create another huge pension roll. This thing the present generation can and must stop. Any veteran of the Spanish or Philippine war who was wounded or disabled as a result of his military service is entitled to a pension. The widow or other dependents of such a soldier also have claims upon the national bounty. The existing laws provide for such pensions. Beyond that point, however, Spanish-American pensioners must not go. Such soldiers can submit their evidence to a Pension Bureau, always disposed to view their claims liberally; failing in proving their case, they should not be permitted to hang on to the coat tails of political Congressmen in an effort to get through a private bill. A law pensioning their widows—such a bill as has recently passed the House and will come up again next winter—should not be tolerated. And any movement to apply to them the laws passed for the benefit of Civil War veterans should be squelched as soon as it shows its head.

We cannot end at this late day the pension abuses of the Civil War. We can, however, forestall the creation of another scandalous pension roll. Will the American people do it?

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